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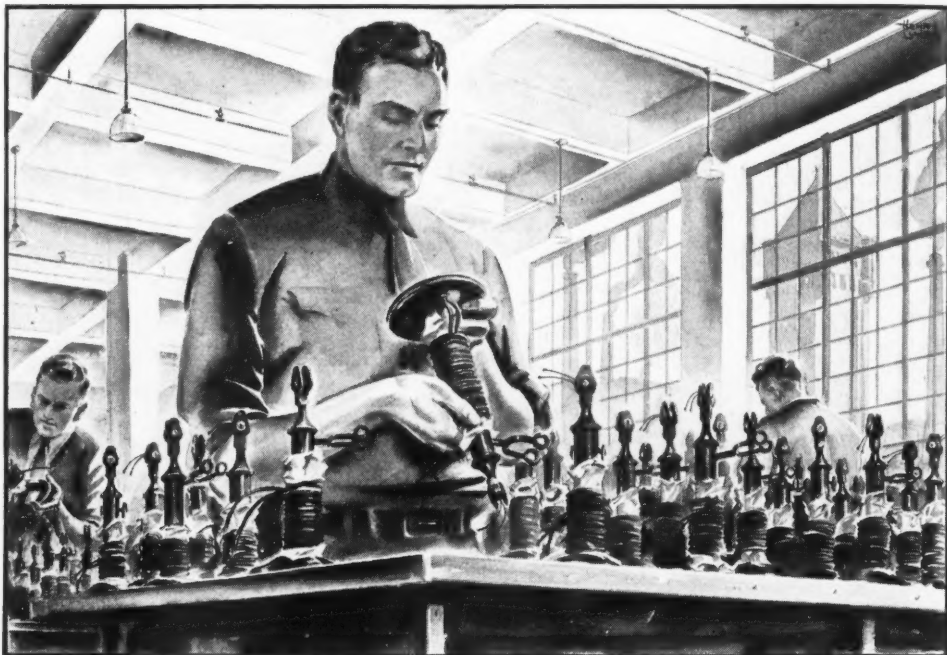


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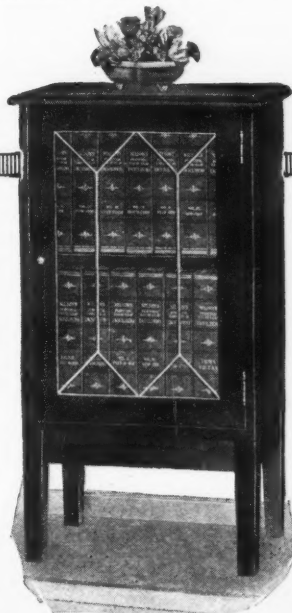
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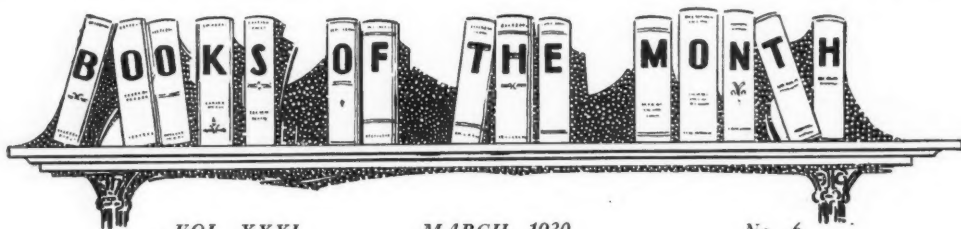
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CURRENT HISTORY



VOL. XXXI.

MARCH, 1930.

No. 6

A BOOK has come into the editor's sanctum which is so vulnerable to criticism and, at the same time, so deserving of praise as to present a special problem of historical appraisal. That book is Octave Aubry's study of Louis Napoleon (*The Phantom Emperor. The Romance and Tragedy of Napoleon III.* Harper & Bros. New York and London, 1929). This work, translated from the French, is a companion piece to the author's previous work, *The Empress Might-Have-Been*, a romantic chronicle of the first Napoleon's *grande passion* for the young Polish girl, Maria Valevska, whose sway over Napoleon's heart assumed aspects of international importance.

The present work is intimately linked with this first study, for it shows throughout the power of the great Napoleon's dynastic tradition in molding the psychology and thus shaping the extraordinary political destiny of his weaker successor to the imperial purple in France—Napoleon III. It has been said above that this study presents a problem in criticism. Aubry, like André Maurois (*vide* the latter's newly published study of Byron, following his remarkable work on Shelley), has emerged in France as a brilliant exponent of the new biographical school of pseudo-historical fiction. Historical, because it is based on intensive study of the life and career of the personage treated; pseudo-historical, because it skillfully weaves this nucleus of unmistakable fact into a hybrid texture of history and fiction; fiction, because it is precisely that. Aubry's work has both the best and the worst qualities of this new literary *genre*. With consummate skill, with fine psychological penetration, with an amazing mastery of milieu and social-historical detail, it traces Louis Napoleon's dramatic career from his desperate venture in the short-lived Carbonari revolution in Italy to his election and *coup d'état* after 1848

and brings the story on to his deposition after the disastrous Franco-Prussian War and his subsequent death in London.

To those who love the brilliant period of the Second Empire, nothing could be so fascinating as this re-creation of the essence of the Second Empire's "gas-lit tragedy," its frivolous *mille fleurs* fragrance, its atmosphere of somewhat rococo elegance—all the romance and charm of the last decades of the nineteenth century in Europe. And this is combined with the gripping story of Louis Napoleon's dynastic obsession, his intrigues, plottings and abortive revolutions, his final triumph, his momentous marriage to Princess Eugénie de Montijo, the terrible diplomatic mistakes into which she led him, culminating in the war with Germany which cost Napoleon III his imperial crown.

High meed of praise can be bestowed on Aubry's work, but it must emphatically be affirmed that his method is wholly unhistorical. The most intimate thoughts, the most intimate private conversations are elaborated on in minute detail. Romantic fiction, akin to the Dumas school, yes. But history, no; though it is based on a historical background.

* * *

The so-called biography by Aubry is another example of the ultra-modern tendency to serve up history to the public palate highly spiced and most agreeably travestied to make it both delectable and easily assimilable to the vast mass of people who are mentally too slothful to subject themselves to the intellectual anguish of serious and thorough study. These purveyors offer the literary-historical equivalent of a course of "Ancient Greek 'mastered' in Ten Lessons." Manuals of history, philosophy, biology, music, embracing centuries of production abound. Will Durant's noteworthy recent contribution, *The Story of Philosophy*, and even more recently his work, *The Mansions of*

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Philosophy (Simon & Schuster. 1929. \$5) are cases in point.

* * *

Now comes Clement Wood's *Outline of Man's Knowledge* (Lewis Copeland Company, Inc., 1929. \$5). "Man's Knowledge" as expounded by this compendious writer, is embraced as "The Story of History, Science, Literature, Art, Religion and Philosophy." Within the compressed space of 654 pages, the author seeks to make luminously clear for him who runs as he reads (the great popular system) the *momenta* in the intellectual progress of civilization covering the course of centuries. This is clearly an impossible task. The connoisseur of history, religion and philosophy will find here little pabulum on which to "prop his inner life." All too brief, too superficial and unsatisfying are these skeleton outlines drawn up to meet the pathetic desire of the great, unlettered public to acquire in five lessons a liberal education in the whole of human knowledge from nebulous pre-historic days to the latest developments of modern science. One essay in the philosophical field, notably—that on Schopenhauer—is especially inadequate. But what can the poor writer do when ordered by his publisher to compress the whole of man's knowledge into 600 pages?

* * *

In sharp contrast to these hopeless and abortive attempts to "superficialize" the whole gamut of man's intellectual and scientific achievements since the world's creation stands out the first of a projected series of fifteen volumes on the social sciences edited by two eminent scholars (*Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. Editor-in-chief, Edwin R. A. Seligman. Associate editor, Alvin Johnson. Vol. I: Aaronson-Allegiance. 673 pages. New York: Macmillan Company. \$7.50). Under the "Social Sciences" are grouped "anthropology, economics, education, history, law, philosophy, political science, psychology, social work, sociology, statistics"—an amazingly broad interpretation of what may properly fall under this category. To say that this work is both scholarly and profound would be to miss its most valuable aspect: the illuminating emphasis thrown on group experiences and the evolution of social thought. Westermann's account of Greek culture, Hearnshaw's interpretation of the Renaissance and the Reformation, Beard's study of the clash between capitalism and individualism, are history in the highest sense—the record of the evolution of human thought

toward the higher forms of our present civilization.

* * *

To revert to the Aubry-Maurois type of romantic fiction based on a historical background, mention may here be made of a most extraordinary historical romance by a new writer, Manuel Komroff. Komroff is already known as the author of a fantastic tale called *Juggler's Kiss*, in which he shows himself pre-eminently to be a kind of medieval minstrel reborn in modern times to sing anachronistic lays. In the romance or historical novel that has just appeared (*Coronet*. 677 pages. New York: Coward McCann, Inc. \$3), this writer paints on a wide historical canvas extending from the Italian Renaissance in Florence to Chicago in our own days, a brilliant panorama which leans heavily on authentic history and authentic personages known to historical or literary annals; the second and longest section, for instance, depicts Napoleon's disastrous invasion of Russia and his heartbreaking retreat from Moscow with his decimated, freezing, starving, ragged army. Here is dramatic material worthy of any historian's best descriptive efforts, and it must be said that Komroff has risen nobly to his opportunities, writing with a dash and sweep and wide vision worthy of Merezhkovsky; at times, even of Tolstoy in some of the pages of his colossal epic, *War and Peace*.

Other known characters, such as Balzac and Chopin, are introduced, and this brings us to the kernel of Komroff's purpose in tracing the course of history down so many centuries, for, as the reader may have already suspected, this is a roman-à-thèse, or, in plain English, a thesis novel. That thesis, which if it be admitted to have any value at all, is of a sociological import, may be briefly summarized as follows: all aristocracy is congenitally, inracinately, and incorrigibly evil. This argument, of course, falls of its own weight, and with it collapses the whole ponderous structure on which, with the aid of an artistic and truly ingenious stratagem—the vicissitudes of two ill-omened objects, a coronet and a whip, which, of course, are nothing but symbols, down through the centuries—the novel is built. Balzac and Chopin, be it said, were obviously introduced by the author deliberately, to strengthen and confirm his theory; for Chopin's aristocratic friends deserted him in his hour of suffering, and Balzac fluttered feverishly in the bright



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orbit of the aristocratic planets of his time.

* * *

In comparing Komroff with Merezhkovsky we had in mind the new work by Merezhkovsky, just published, on the life of Napoleon. (*The Life of Napoleon*. By Dmitri S. Merezhkovsky. 375 pages. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$3.50.) Like Komroff, Merezhkovsky has a thesis to prove, but a thesis immeasurably higher, more inspiring, and even more convincing, at least to those mystically inclined. And that thesis is briefly this: that Napoleon's phenomenal and amazing mentality, alike in its military, or destructive aspects, and in those constructive, flowering in his famous Code, in his national road building, and in his industrial development of France, derived from the unconscious operation of Plato's theory of "mystical remembrance," viz., intuitive memory or psychic intuition of vast special stores of immemorial knowledge accumulated by the race in the past and transmitted to and crystallized in Napoleon's subliminal consciousness.

Students of ancient Greek and Indian mystic philosophy, theosophists and transcendentalists of every category will seize on this novel if unprovable (not to say improbable) suggestion with delight. It is wholly superfluous to point out that this is pure mysticism, and not, in any sense, history. And yet Merezhkovsky is a historian, and a gifted one, who combines historical method with the most brilliant literary style. The Moscow campaign, as depicted by Komroff, is, after all, merely literary virtuosity applied to historical chronicling; but Merezhkovsky infuses into the purely objective theme the vital breath of psychological interpretation, which pierces to the very heart of Napoleon's gigantic power over his armies and over the spirit of his time. This applies with even greater force in the chapters dealing with Waterloo and the last tragic phases of Napoleon's meteoric career, wherein this great Russian writer shows that the proud, majestic, hubristic soul of genius gains, rather than loses, in disaster, ignominy and defeat. And this, be it said, is high, spiritual interpretation of ethical significance to the blindly groping, bewildered spirit of man, whom life ever frustrates and defeats.

* * *

A serious question might be raised by a recent publication of the American-Scandinavian Foundation (*Peace*. By Arne Garborg. Translated from the Nor-

wegian by Phillips Dean Carlton. New York. The American-Scandinavian Foundation. W. W. Norton & Co., Inc. \$2.50). Those who love the sombre but psychologically enriching realism of Scandinavian literature, those who either in the original or in translation know the works of Ibsen, Selma Lagerlöf, Knut Hamsun, Sigrid Undset and Petter Egge, may legitimately regret the selection for American consumption of so stark and grim a study of the bleakest aspect of Norwegian background and the Norwegian peasant soul; a work, moreover, which is essentially a study of religious insanity, and hence, in the very nature of the case, exceptional. Called "the parent of the peasant novel" by a competent critic, this work is nakedly, almost repellantly, realistic and lacks entirely a sense of higher spiritual values.

* * *

And speaking of Scandinavia, a recent study of the amazing Bernadotte who rose from the ranks of Napoleon's army to found the royal dynasty which still rules over Sweden's destinies today, is another example of biography written by one temperamentally incapable of rising to a great subject. (*The Amazing Career of Bernadotte*. 1763-1844. By Sir Dunbar Plunket-Barton. Boston. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$5). For the life of Jean Baptiste Bernadotte of Pau, the Gascon youth who by sheer power of inborn genius became King Charles John of Sweden, was an amazing romance, which this sober and pedestrian British biographer turns into a gray and sober chronicle, which might almost be called an arid historical stream.

* * *

Two recent English biographies may be listed in this survey. In *Lord Lansdowne: A Biography*. By Lord Newton (New York: The Macmillan Company. \$8.50), we have an excellent piece of biographical work written by an English lord of frankly Tory tendencies, but almost brutally critical of the leadership of his party and specifically of the aristocratic but incompetent Lansdowne. After reading Lord Newton's book, the chief reasons for Lansdowne's failure to achieve the supreme goal of his political ambitions—the Premiership of Great Britain—become luminously clear. Lansdowne was eminently a "career man," who progressed steadily up the political ladder from Junior Lord of the Treasury to Under-Secretary, then Viceroy for India, Secretary of State for War, head of the Foreign Office, leader of the Peers in the House of Lords, and a hopeless blunderer and failure in all. His



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"muddling through" in the World War, pre-eminently, cost his country dear.

* * *

The second English work, *For the Defense. The Life of Sir Edward Marshall Hall*. By Edward Majoribanks, M. P. (New York. The Macmillan Company, \$5), is or should be an intensely interesting study of one of England's greatest criminal lawyers, bringing out as it does his methods and dramatic trend. But this biographer, though treating a subject brimming with human interest, shows a lack of sense of literary values. The writer is evidently conscientious, but lacks ability to show the tremendous driving force and dynamic personality behind all Hall's noted cases.

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English Government and Politics

By HAROLD J. LASKI

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

PROFESSOR OGG has written what is, I think, quite the best descriptive account of the English political system I have seen since the war.* His work is full and impartial and accurate. It strikes just the right balance between permanent and fluctuating elements. It displays an awareness of the great issues, a knowledge of the vast literature, and a power to pick its way among a mass of confusing detail which deserve high praise. Certainly no better textbook on the subject now exists.

This said, there is one point of criticism I desire to make. Professor Ogg has taken the greatest pains to make himself thoroughly at home amid the facts he describes. It is obvious that he knows the issues in debate as well as any one outside a very small handful of supreme experts upon the subject. It is, therefore, I think, a grave loss in his work that he should so carefully refrain from any comment upon the great themes he has to analyze. No one can have read so widely or so discriminatingly as he does without coming to conclusions about matters like the House of Lords, electoral reform, delegated legislation, the reform of local government, the immense authority of the Cabinet. I cannot help regretting that Professor Ogg has followed the evil American tradition of refraining com-

pletely from criticism of his own, or from an expression of his own sense of the values inherent in the material. The result is, if I may say so, an excellent anatomical description, but not the functional account it was in Professor Ogg's power to give. Too many American professors of political science sin in this matter. They are content, after infinite labor, to be computers in the engine-room where they might be navigators on the bridge. I hope greatly that one day Professor Ogg will repudiate a self-denying ordinance which leaves his readers the poorer by its presence.

What impression does Professor Ogg's picture ultimately leave upon the interested reader? An impression that is, I think, two-fold in character. The classic outlines of English parliamentary government are sound, but great changes need to be made in essential elements in the superstructure. The outline is that of a nineteenth century negative and autocratic state elastic enough in quality to be capable of transformation into the structure requisite to a twentieth-century positive and democratic state. But the transformation has not yet been made.

This appears evident, I think, from Professor Ogg's pages. His account of the House of Lords shows its futility as a legislative assembly, and his account of the modern movement for reform only brings out, I think, the view I have elsewhere emphasized, that there is really nothing to be said for a two-chamber system, at least outside a Federal state. His account, again, of House of Commons procedure makes it evident that its lost prestige simply cannot be regained until a thorough reconstruction takes place. The present method gives the Cabinet an intensity of control over detail which no considerations of efficiency can justify. Or, again, take his account of local government. There is in its substance one great principle, the idea of local self-government balanced and checked by the central grant in aid. But the present areas are all wrong, the powers are all wrong, and the way in which local officials are appointed is nearly all wrong.

Almost all these defects are the result of the fact that no one has ever deliberately thought out the changes needed in the British Constitution in terms of the functions they now need to serve. We have had one or two minor reforms of some consequence since 1900, like universal suffrage, the Parliament act and the creation of a Cabinet secretariat. But to the major reforms, all of which are im-

**English Government and Politics*. By F. A. Ogg. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929. \$4.25.

portant and some of which are urgent, no one, least of all no government, has devoted serious attention. Professor Ogg would, I feel, have quadrupled the value of his book if, at the end, he had given us a chapter of concluding reflections upon these matters.

I am glad to see that upon the important matter of the King's relation to the power of dissolving Parliament Professor Ogg stands by Mr. MacDonald's view that he must act upon the advice of his ministers. Few subjects are more mysterious than the weird metaphysics of English

monarchy. Professor Ogg realizes that the standing of the Crown is in direct proportion to its absence of authority. Any attempt in England to revive the exercise of monarchical authority would end, and rightly end, its neutrality; and it is to that neutrality that its existence today is due. When Mr. Asquith tried, in 1923, to revive the myth that the dissolving power was not obsolete, he did a grave disservice to the position of the monarchy. Its whole strength lies in its purely automatic character and any departure from that automatism would

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clearly be followed by the gravest consequences.

Professor Ogg gives a very interesting account of party structure and machinery. It is difficult to emphasize the importance of the party machine in England overmuch. My own impression is that it is growing and that there are not half a dozen men in any party who can hope to fight it and survive. I note with interest, perhaps with dismay, that every attempt to build advisory committees of experts to serve the party machine breaks down in terms of the machine's autocracy. Even in the Labor party the advisory machinery which started so hopefully ten years ago is now but a wraith of itself, and the absence of any continuous contact with the Parliamentary leaders makes it, for the most part, operate in a vacuum. The Labor party remains, I believe, the most democratically controlled of all the parties; but the degree to which even the Labor party is an oligarchy is not, I think, sufficiently evident in Professor Ogg's pages.

His account of the Prime Minister and his position is clear and full, but to me Professor Ogg seems seriously to underestimate the Prime Minister's power. Theory makes him merely *primus inter pares*; practice has, I think, made him very much nearer to the American President than the theory would imply. He has much more freedom in choosing his colleagues than Professor Ogg seems to imagine; witness the personnel of the present and the last Cabinet. No really vital decision can be taken against his serious opposition. The judgment that a dissolution is necessary rests very largely in his hands. He appoints the higher judiciary and the permanent heads of departments. He is the real source of that liberal flow of decorations in which Englishmen so curiously delight. He is the court of appeal not merely between colleagues in dispute, but also between a department and a dissatisfied interest which still hopes for redress. Ministerial promotion is largely in his hands. He must be consulted about the composition of all major Royal Commissions and he need not consult about his own. He can create new departments, like the new Economic General Staff, without consulting his colleagues unless he so desires. He dominates the House of Commons as no other Minister because he speaks on all subjects, while others cover a very narrow range outside their departments. A Prime Minister like Mr. MacDonald, who thoroughly enjoys the exercise of authori-

ty, is probably at least as powerful as President Hoover and, I should say, nearly as influential as any Minister since Sir Robert Walpole. He is not, of course, a dictator; but it is not unlikely that there are dictators who may envy the degree to which he can, and does, have his own way.

The Franco-Russian Alliance

By ALEXANDER BALTZLY
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, NEW YORK
UNIVERSITY

FOR twenty years after her defeat by the Germans in 1870-1871 France remained isolated and in fear of attack, while Bismarck allied Germany with Austria-Hungary and Italy in the *Dreibund*, kept up a connection with Russia through the *Dreikaiserbund* and the Reinsurance Treaty, and maintained a fair working relationship with Great Britain. That this isolation of France should be replaced in 1891 and 1894 by the Franco-Russian Alliance, historians have always agreed, was inevitable. French statesmen and writers especially have regarded it as the keystone of French foreign policy. Yet the most scathing condemnation has come from a Frenchman, whose treatise, the first devoted to the Franco-Russian Alliance as a whole, was published in 1927. M. Michon's book now makes its appearance in an English translation.*

The book is a thesis. Written from an openly hostile point of view, it shows how unequal a partnership was consummated and how blindly French enthusiasm was created for a dangerous association. France sought the alliance persistently, while Alexander III, much preferring the continuance of good relations with Germany, was led to consent to it only because of German bankers' abandonment of Russian loans and the eagerness of the French to step in and buy up all the bonds that Russia could pour on the Paris market. A general defensive alliance was agreed to and later a specific military convention of the most secret nature, never published until 1918. This military convention, however, was regarded as part of the treaty and was, therefore, applicable only to a defensive war. It was only in 1899, after Delcassé's visit to St. Petersburg, that it came to apply

**The Franco-Russian Alliance; 1891-1917.* By Georges Michon. Translated by Norman Thomas. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929. 336 pp. \$4.50.

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to "the maintenance of the Balance of Power in Europe." None but the members of the respective governments knew of this alteration and, indeed, when war was declared in Paris in 1914 no delegate of the Chamber even asked to hear the terms of the agreement.

Although the statesmen who made the alliance clearly regarded it at first as a purely defensive instrument, French public opinion was quick to seize on it as a prelude to a war of revenge and the reconquest of Alsace-Lorraine. Gradually this view came to pervade government circles as well and Delcassé and later Poincaré, worked to that end. But Russia was not interested in Alsace-Lorraine; her need was money and the French seemed able and willing to supply it without stint. Perhaps the most valuable portions of M. Michon's work are those that show how French loans bolstered up a tottering Czarist monarchy and permitted it, first to embark on an ill-considered adventure in the Far East, and second, to repress the forces of liberalism that had made themselves powerful in the Revolution of 1905. French opinion showed little sympathy for efforts to liberalize the Russian Government and, on the other hand, liberals and radicals alike in Russia came to hate France for the support she gave to réaction. Most interesting, for its bearing on the question of Russian repudiation of the French debt, is the fact that Russian revolutionaries and Liberals repeatedly warned France that a revolutionary government in Russia would never hold binding any debts incurred by the Czar after "Bloody Sunday" in January, 1905. French warnings were not lacking either—not only from Jaurès and the Socialists but also from Leroy-Beaulieu, the most competent authority France had on Russian conditions—that the loans were a bad investment, that Russia was not spending the money on building up resources but in repression and intrigue, and that her military strength itself was far less formidable than the French were counting on. No warning sufficed; French enthusiasm remained undimmed.

Russian policy was in the hands of adventurers who were willing to pursue, after the collapse of Manchuria, a policy definitely aiming at Constantinople and the Straits. While French public opinion may have rejoiced at engagements described by Georges Louis as "the Straits and Constantinople for Alsace and Lorraine," as a matter of fact the French

Foreign Office was seldom consulted by Sazonov and Izvolski in their tortuous diplomatic negotiations. M. Michon regards the Balkan League of 1912 as solely a Russian creation and, he goes on to say, only after it had radically altered the whole status of the Balkan question did M. Poincaré accept the idea that a Balkan embroglio would bring France to the support of her ally.

Finally, the World War itself. French statesmen had accepted the war policy before the murder of the archduke at Sarajevo. M. Paléologue, early in June, 1914, declared that war was "inevitable and imminent." This war could not be a defensive war (the only kind of war to which the alliance, as its makers conceived of it, could apply), for how could Russia be attacked in the Balkans? France entered the war as a matter of course. Here M. Michon calls attention to two quite different French explanations of France's declaration of war. In August, 1914, the reason given was that Germany was attacking France and in 1921 M. Poincaré reiterated that statement. Yet in July, 1914, as war was approaching, it was generally stated in France that if France fought it would be because of her obligation to Russia under the Alliance, and in September M. Paléologue so put it in talking to the Russian Foreign Minister. In 1917, when victory seemed far away and revolution had come in Russia, French statesmen could not say it often enough to induce the Kerenski Government to continue the war. M. Michon presses his points unsparingly, but his is the attack of a scholar, nevertheless, not that of the propagandist. And the work of Professor Langer,[†] so far as it goes, reaches very much the same conclusions.

M. Michon's book carries the Alliance through its complete existence, keeping his attention focused at all times on France and Russia. Professor Langer, on the other hand, deals in his monograph with a problem less extended in time but more inclusive in its view of world politics. The present reviewer has gone through no study of late nineteenth century diplomacy that envisages more clearly the complicated milieu in which Bismarck and Caprivi, Freycinet and Ribot, Thiers, Salisbury, Rosebery and Crispien groped their way. Professor Langer approaches his problem as much from the

[†]*The Franco-Russian Alliance; 1890-1894.* By William Leonard Langer. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929. 439 pp. \$4.50.

German, the British and Italian angle as from the French or Russian.

Permanent alliances had not been the rule in European diplomacy before the Congress of Berlin. Bismarck began the process of keeping the peace by means of such combinations, yet at the same time he always had several balls in the air and balanced his Europe with delicate skill in his effort to maintain the status quo. When in 1890 Caprivi came to the Wilhelmstrasse he felt the unwisdom of maintaining so intricate a system and sought to revert to a simpler policy but found it impossible. The Mediterranean questions involved Germany's ally, Italy, and Caprivi fell back on Bismarck's policy of trying to get Great Britain to secure Italian interests without Germany's becoming engaged in the task. But if, as Professor Langer says, "European politics from 1887-1890 were essentially Mediterranean politics," the same could be said for the four years following 1890. It is the discussion of these politics that forms the greatest contribution of this monograph. The position of Italy as dragging Germany into Mediterranean affairs, the vulnerability of Great Britain in Egypt, the threat that a Russian fleet might pass through the Straits and become a force in these Southern waters, together with the conflicting ambitions of France, Italy and Great Britain in North Africa, and of Britain and Russia in the Middle East, all reveal the problems of the Franco-Russian Alliance in a light left insufficiently emphasized hitherto.

The Germans viewed this alliance complacently enough in the early '90s because they regarded it as essentially impractical unless Germany were the common enemy of the two partners. This fundamental axiom was apparently falsified when France abandoned her *revanche* attitude and followed Russia in a distinctly anti-British policy. The diplomacy of 1891-1894 lacks meaning without the realization of the fact that the Franco-Russian Alliance in those years was aimed at Great Britain instead of at Germany. The isolation of Great Britain and the closeness she came to war with France in 1893, the naval inferiority of the British and the impression made on the world by the demonstration of the Franco-Russian fleets at Toulon, are brought out with great skill. Professor Langer carries his story in detail only through 1894, adding merely a short chapter on later aspects of the questions involved. He considers that there is "unanswerable evidence that the alliance was from start



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to finish a Russian instrument which operated to Russia's advantage almost exclusively. No attempt was ever made to use it against Germany or even to use it to intimidate Germany. Its effect was essentially what the Russian Government intended it should be; that is, it made really close cooperation between England and the Triple Alliance more difficult than it had ever been, it obliged Germany to maintain at least a policy of benevolent neutrality toward Russia, it gave Russia a free hand in the Far East, and it finally pressed England into the agreement with Russia, with the result that in 1914 England could be enlisted in support of Slavic designs against Austria in the Near East."

When in October, 1893, the Russian and French sailors were fraternizing at Toulon at the same time that the British fleet made a point of putting in at Taranto to visit the Italians, no sane observer would have looked to see all four of these powers on the same side in a world war. The rise of the German Navy was unthought of then, yet might one not add that there was in the bringing about of this final alignment one other imponderable, namely Japan?

Christianity Today

By DAVID S. MUZZEY

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

PROFESSOR BARNES'S address as vice president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at the New York Academy of Medicine, on Dec. 29, 1928, advocating "a reconstruction of God and religion in harmony with the knowledge of the present day," provoked a storm of criticism in pulpit and press, in public forums and personal letters. In the present volume* Mr. Barnes replies to his critics, not so much by direct arguments *ad hominem* as by an elaborate justification of his thesis, based upon modern and widely accepted results of studies in primitive sociology, comparative religion, biblical criticism and physical and mental science.

The book is remarkably free from animus or cantankerousness. The author protests at the outset that he "has no desire or intention of attacking religion in a comprehensive and indiscriminating fashion." He regards his book rather as

"a friendly critique of religion" and a "most promising and reasonable" attempt to rehabilitate religion by subjecting current religious beliefs to the test of our present-day knowledge, by rejecting courageously dogmas which are clearly antiquated, and by providing for the man of the twentieth century a religion which shall not be "an affront to his intelligence." "If moderate and forward-looking churchmen cannot receive the critique embodied in the present volume with good will and complacency," he adds, "then they have a hard future before them. They can scarcely expect a more kindly and sympathetic treatment from a scientifically trained and secular-minded investigator."

But in spite of the personal courtesy with which he treats the forward-looking (and even at times the backward-looking) churchmen, Mr. Barnes will not tolerate a single vestige of supernatural religion. He lays his scientific axe to the root of the tree. His book is a devastating attack on the entire system of Christian doctrine. Not only are the fundamental factors of the "Christian epic"—creation, the fall of man, atonement and redemption by the Son of God, the last judgment, and resurrection to eternal joy or woe—swept aside as stultifying superstitions, but even the very ideas of God, the soul, sin, prayer, immortality, revelation and the supernatural, are rejected as "cultural fossils." They are significant only as objective antiquities, testifying to an outgrown phase of human evolution. If it seems strange to any one that Mr. Barnes, with his complete elimination of the supernatural, still retains the word religion, his reply is that the term has social and emotional value, and that, when disinfected of its theological germs, it can be utilized as the designation for united effort of men of good-will to build a purely secular community on the bases of scientific knowledge, social and political justice and human charity. In a word, religion will become humanism.

We cannot and need not follow in detail the arguments of Mr. Barnes's chapters on the origin of religion, the evils for which organized religion has been responsible, the inroads of textual and higher criticism on the dogma of the Bible as the revealed Word of God, the essential incompatibility not only of Fundamentalist intransigence but even of Modernist apologetics with the accumulating evidence which emerges from

**The Twilight of Christianity*. By Harry Elmer Barnes. New York: The Vanguard Press, 1929. Pp. xi, 463. \$3.

the laboratories of the physicist and the psychologist and the libraries of the historian and the sociologist. Most of the material contained in these chapters is not new, as Mr. Barnes frankly confesses. The history of comparative religions and of biblical criticism, for example, has long been familiar to professional students of the subjects and in large measure to well-read laymen. The material is set forth here with some unnecessary repetition, we think, to give the reader as complete as possible a sense of the incongruity and untenability of traditional orthodox doctrines. It is hard to see how any fair-minded person (to adopt Mr. Barnes's own style) can fail to be moved by the facts and arguments so skillfully marshalled and so cogently presented in these chapters, but, then, did not Pope Pius XI in his recent encyclical declare that "no mind unclouded by prejudice" could "find any reasonable motive to impede or prevent the Church" in her divine mission of exercising her "supernatural right" over the education of the young? And does not this same encyclical again repeat the oft-repeated claim of the Catholic Church to have been, and to be still, the foremost patron of science and learning?

Mr. Barnes appeals with arguments to some hundreds or thousands of inquiring readers. Pope Pius speaks with awful authority to millions whose business it is not to inquire but to believe and obey. Even had Mr. Barnes called his book *The Twilight of Orthodoxy*, the title would have indicated an optimism which the text itself goes far to nullify. For, in his zeal to demonstrate that Christianity, in spite of the "wabbly" modernism of some religious leaders, still clings to orthodox dogmas, he shows in the chapter entitled "The Faith of Our Fathers Still Living," how "those who still support a literal version of orthodox Christianity infinitely outnumber" the liberals; and he fortifies his statement by a table recording the large gains for the year 1928 in the membership of the Roman Catholic and the orthodox Protestant churches, as compared with the stagnant or dwindling numbers of those groups which are making some advance toward the "purely secular religion" of humanism. It is true that Professor George Betts's questionnaire on "The Beliefs of 700 Ministers" showed some abatement of faith in a personal Devil, the complete inerrancy of the Bible, a Dantean hell, and like crude superstitions among the new crop of theological students who "will pro-

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duce the preachers of the next generation." But on such doctrines as God's personal attributes, Jesus' mediating mission, the operation of the Holy Spirit, immortality, and others which Mr. Barnes finds quite as unscientific and deplorable as fear of the Devil, young ministers and old contributed alike to a score of from 90 to 100 per cent in the affirmative. Mr. Barnes has a good deal to say about religious faith as "wishful thinking." In the face of the facts and figures which he records it would seem that his own faith in the passing of Christianity is about as "wishful" a thought as could be entertained.

Of course Mr. Barnes does not expect any help from the Fundamentalists in fighting supernatural religion; but he believes that genuine Modernists, imbued with the historical and scientific spirit of the age, ought to abandon Christianity, which fetters them with the obligation to apologize for antiquated vestiges of doctrine, and come out squarely for a new religion, concerned wholly with encouraging men to rid the world of the evils of ignorance, oppression, greed, hatred and war, by the now adequate means of science and enlightenment at their disposal. The chief deterrent to such a conversion of the Modernists he finds, quite rightly, in their allegiance to the founder of Christianity. In the crucial chapter of the book, "The Jesus Stereotype," he selects six Christian Modernists who are "in the vanguard of those seeking to apply religion to the reconstruction of social life." He praises the intellectual attainments, the moral integrity, the beneficent social accomplishments of these men to the skies. Yet they are all handicapped by dragging Jesus into their work. They talk about "the ethics of Jesus," the "blue-print" of Jesus' program, following "Jesus' way of life," and the like, not realizing that Jesus was a man of whom we know but very little and that that little shows him to have been an obscure peasant living in a remote corner of the world 2,000 years ago, without the slightest competence to understand or to deal with any of the important problems of our highly complex modern civilization. The six whom Mr. Barnes selects for his mixed encomium and reproach are so qualified. Why do they persist in attributing their own views to Jesus? Why talk about indebtedness to Him, to whom they can really owe nothing? To exalt Him to the undeserved position of an authority and guide is to endorse all his crude theories

of the Hebrew God and Scriptures, the judgment day, world renunciation and the like. So long as Jesus is an authority, orthodoxy cannot be relegated to the limbo of superstition.

Again, Mr. Barnes seems to us guilty of some inconsistency and faulty psychology. If the six men are worthy of the praise he bestows upon them, then how explain the undoubted fact of their exaltation of Jesus except by impugning either their intelligence or their honesty? We are not apologizing for them. Mr. Barnes may be right in his inexorable conviction that to keep Jesus in the picture is to open the door to the whole Judaic theology and cosmology and to introduce all the "doubt discarded" by modern science. But the point is that these six men are as thoroughly convinced of Jesus' supremacy as Mr. Barnes is of his nullity.

It is not a new controversy that Mr. Barnes has started. In 1825 Henri de Saint Simon launched a bitter attack (not "a friendly critique") on the Catholic and Protestant clergy of his day for their failure to be "schooling in positive science," and to preach nothing in conflict therewith. And he appealed to the monarchs of the Holy Alliance (of all men!) to set up the new religion as their "Christian duty." Mr. Barnes has a better tribunal to appeal to than the despots of Russia, Prussia and Austria; and he makes a better plea than Saint Simon. But as to the verdict—?

Why We Fought

By JONATHAN F. SCOTT

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

IN a spicy article published in *The American Mercury* for August, 1927, Mr. C. Hartley Grattan severely criticised those American professors who subverted history during the World War to bolster up the case against Germany. No doubt the castigation was well deserved. It was a sad revelation to see historians, many of whom had given courses in historical method, throw their scholarship overboard and lend themselves to the most unsubstantial anti-German propaganda. Now that war hysteria has died down and revisionist scholarship has revealed how ill-founded were many of the charges against Germany, a number of these historians have come to regret the



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part they played in spreading error and hate.

Now Mr. Grattan himself jumps boldly into the arena of historical writing.* He essays to show why the United States entered the war. He attempts, he says in his preface, "to be completely objective in his consideration" of those forces that brought our country into the conflict. After a brief summary of what he holds to be the causes of the outbreak of the war in 1914, he passes to the influence of propaganda in the United States and points out how much more effective was the propaganda of the Allies than that of Germany. The success of the allied propaganda, he maintains, laid the basis for the preparedness movement which pushed this country toward war. He then takes up the economic factors which he believes exercised a strong influence in the same direction, seeking to show how American trade and finance became entangled with the allied cause, while the sale of munitions to the Allies antagonized German opinion.

Next he analyzes the diplomacy that underlay our entrance into the conflict, discussing the various American attempts at mediation and the weakness and final breakdown of American efforts to modify the injurious effects on American trade of the British blockade. The impression conveyed is that the British outrageously disregarded American rights, while at the same time American policy became more and more subservient to British interests. He also shows how the German submarine campaign more and more antagonized those in power in America and finally drew the United States into war.

At the time that Mr. Grattan was throwing stones at the professors of history there was no particular evidence to show that he himself was living in a glass house. His present study, however, makes it clear that if he was not living in one then, he is now. He is far from attaining that scholarly objectivity which he found so sadly lacking in the wartime writings of the professors of history. Thus he accepts without question the economic interpretation of history. "Economics," he says, "provides the dynamics of history. * * * The World War is on all fours with every other war in having an economic foundation. * * * The flag follows trade, the politicians follow the flag, the propagandists follow the politicians, and the people follow the propagandists." In other

words, Mr. Grattan accepts as basic to his study an unproved theory. No doubt historians have often underestimated the part played by economic forces in the historical process, but it certainly has not been irrefutably established that economics is the one key to an understanding of the past.

Throughout the book Mr. Grattan emphasizes those points that tend to justify or excuse the policy of Germany and those that tend to put the policy of the Allies, particularly that of England, in a bad light. In speaking of the outbreak of the war in 1914, he says: "The French Government did not object to fighting; they did not put pressure on Russia, and the result was war." For this dogmatic statement there is no proof. There is no proof that France, through pressure, could have restrained Russia. Mr. Grattan further builds up a labored defense of Germany's invasion of Belgium and then says that "Sir Edward Grey, in his desperate search for an efficient emotional argument for English participation in the war, could not pass up the Belgian issue." Comparing the German submarine campaign with the British blockade, he says: "Coldly regarded, it is impossible to see in what respect the submarine, even as used by the Germans, was worse than the British blockade." Evidently he attaches little weight to the American contention that the loss of American lives mattered far more than the loss of American goods. He further contends that the failure of the American Government to stand up manfully against the British blockade indirectly brought the United States into the European conflict. "The American attitude toward the end, product of a British policy," he says, "led us to war with Germany." For this statement he offers no convincing evidence.

The chapters dealing with the German submarine campaign are the best in the book. Here Mr. Grattan is on solid ground; for it can hardly be denied that it was on the submarine issue that the United States finally entered the war. Human nature being what it is, it is difficult to see how this country could have done otherwise. President Wilson could confine himself to protests and compromises where individual American vessels and vessels on which Americans were traveling were sunk as long as the German Government repudiated ruthless submarine warfare as an instrument of policy. But once the German Government had decided to break its promises to the government of the United States and re-

**Why We Fought.* By C. Hartley Grattan. New York: The Vanguard Press, 1929. \$3.50.

new the ruthless submarine campaign, the President and Congress had virtually no choice but to enter the conflict. The German Government itself knew that the resumption of the submarine campaign would draw the United States into the war. It gambled and lost. Yet Mr. Grattan, while admitting the stupidity of the Germans, says that they thus "provided the emotional issue on which the country could be persuaded to war, an issue as thin as that which had carried the English people into the war in 1914."

Mr. Grattan has worked hard in writing this book. He has brought together a mass of material and fortified it with footnotes. His references give his work an appearance of sound scholarship just as footnotes gave an appearance of sound scholarship to some of the anti-German diatribes written by American historians during the World War. But his material is ill-digested. He offers no convincing proof that propaganda, preparedness or subservience to British policy brought America into the struggle. Instead of ripe and reasoned conclusions, he throws off opinions some of which are clearly ill-founded. The best that can be said of his book is that his industry has brought together material of which a more objective historical scholarship can later take advantage.

Imperialism and World Economy

By **WALTER J. SHEPARD**

DEAN OF THE COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES,
OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

THE author of this volume* is probably the leading theoretician of the Russian Communist movement. His various writings present the best contemporary adaptation of the doctrines of Karl Marx, and as such they must be taken seriously. The work under review was written in 1915. In manuscript form it underwent a stormy experience. Written abroad, it was seized by the military censor when sent into Russia; then it was lost; then found after the revolution of February-March 1917; then seized by the Cadets, and finally recovered only in mutilated form. In a short introduction, Lenin emphasizes the im-

**Imperialism and World Economy*. By Nikolai Bukharin. With an Introduction by V. I. Lenin. 173 pages. New York: International Publishers. \$2.

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portance of imperialism as "the most essential problem in that realm of economic science which examines the changing forms of capitalism in recent times," and thoroughly endorses Bukharin's analysis and conclusions.

The essay is a well written, closely knit, economic argument, buttressed by numerous citations from a wide range of economic literature and bristling with statistical information. It is the work of a widely read and well-informed scholar. Written in the second year of the Great War, it necessarily appears somewhat out of focus today, but the author would probably feel the need of less revision, were he to re-write the book, than most of the theoretical writers who attempted at the time to interpret the events of fifteen years ago.

The approach to the problem of imperialism is the conception of the existence and increasing importance of a world economy, by which is meant a system of national economies interlinked by exchange. It is "an unorganized system of economies devoid of a conscious collective management, where, on the contrary, the economic laws are the elemental laws of the market and of production subordinated to the market." World economy is a capitalistic economy, exhibiting all the characteristics of the capitalistic system. It is an economy based upon profits derived from surplus value, operating with the instruments of ruthless competition, and exploiting labor in the interest of the dominant bourgeois class. Its structure is anarchical, as was the structure of the national economies of the nineteenth century. These have experienced in recent years a considerable degree of organization by the narrowing of the hitherto unhampered "free play of economic forces." Within the nation the processes of production and exchange have been organized, regimented, centralized, consolidated to such an extent that order has emerged out of chaos. But this only means that the anarchy of capitalism has been raised to the international level, where the industrial and commercial conflict is waged with a greater intensity, a more ruthless disregard for any other end or purpose than profits than was possible within the narrower limits of a single national economy.

The competitive struggle is assuming the character of a relentless struggle between vast trusts which have expanded both horizontally until they practically control the entire production of a com-

modity, and vertically until they likewise control the sources of raw material and the processes of marketing and exchange. These great capitalist trusts are nationally determined, and have gained such dominance over the agencies of national governments as to be able to wield the entire power of the State in the furtherance of their ends. They are in effect State capitalist trusts, and their rivalry and competition thus is easily transformed into international political conflict with the certainty of an eventual issue in international war. The competition between these great aggregations of capital and political power takes three forms—a struggle for raw materials, a struggle for markets, a struggle for investment concessions. It is in the backward and undeveloped areas that the first fierce conflict takes place. This is the colonial aspect of imperialism. But it passes on to a second phase in which the smaller States of advanced civilization become the bone of contention, and eventually fall under the financial, industrial, commercial and substantially the political control of one or other of the great State capitalist trusts. The author suggested that Belgium had, by 1914, practically fallen into the status of a dependency to Germany. The elimination of small States is an inevitable prospect of the imperialist struggle. A continually increasing militarism is a necessary consequence, and wars waged on an ever larger stage and becoming ever more destructive and terrible can be predicted with the utmost certainty. There is no possibility of an eventual amalgamation of these fiercely competing State capitalist trusts into a world capitalist State, because competition would then cease, and competition is an essential element of capitalism. Only by destruction of capitalism itself through the rise of the proletariat; only by the victory of communistic socialism will the anarchy of the present system be brought to an end.

The majority of the readers of this review will agree that this picture of our contemporary world order is not a true one. It is not true, because it oversimplifies the situation; it is too logical for the facts. The major premise of Marxian socialist theory is the doctrine of economic determinism. Human behavior is entirely explained as the play of economic forces. Economic laws have a universal validity like those of pre-Einsteinian physics. There is no explanation in strict socialist theory for the world-wide disarmament movement which has just now culminated

in the London conference. There is no adequate explanation for the real success of the League of Nations and the World Court. These are developments since Bukharin wrote his essay, and they are the most eloquent testimony to its untruthfulness. But if we may generally agree that the economic forces which constitute for the doctrinaire Socialists the full explanation of human behavior are not sufficient; if we recognize that even great captains of industry are sometimes actuated by other than a greedy interest in profits, we must not minimize the real significance and danger that are inherent in the capitalistic system, the menace that imperialism carries. From this point of view it would be well if Bukharin's little book, with all its exaggeration, were very widely read.

Growth and Decadence of Constitutional Government

By WILLIAM MacDONALD
HISTORIAN AND PUBLICIST

THE late Professor Smith of the University of Washington, whose earlier work, *The Spirit of American Government*, stirred up a lively discussion in liberal circles when the American liberal movement was young, appears in the present book,* which his daughter prepared for the press, as a quiet but outspoken challenger of a good many cherished notions about the merits of American democracy. To say that the book is one of the most brilliant studies of American politics that have been offered in many a day may create some initial misapprehension, for Professor Smith is more successful in exposing what he regards as evils than in suggesting remedies, and some of his conclusions would probably be rejected by conservative minds as dangerously radical; but his temper is so fine, his courage so unflinching, and his learning so obvious though carefully concealed, that what he says may not safely be neglected even if one disagrees.

The main thesis of the book, worked out in what is really a series of essays, is that what was intended to be, in the United States, a system under which government was restrained has developed into

**The Growth and Decadence of Constitutional Government*. By the late J. Allen Smith. Introduction by the late Vernon Louis Parrington. 300 pages. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$3.



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a system of governmental centralization and absolutism, with democracy overborne by power. While the theory of natural law, natural rights and individual liberty was used to justify the Revolution and afford the philosophical foundation of the American political system, the Constitution, in which the authority of the State was meant to be restrained, "was itself subject to a higher law." Revolutionary philosophy "repudiated the idea that the State, as represented by the electorate and the governmental organization, possessed unlimited power." What we have witnessed, however, and almost from the beginning, is a struggle between democracy and governmental encroachment. The State tended to develop an artificial inequality, and to guard against that a widely extended suffrage became necessary. Once the Constitution was adopted the Revolutionary propaganda which emphasized human rights and democratic organization "largely subsided," the critical attitude "practically disappeared," and "our political institutions were all but deified." Lawyers dominated public life and legalism and constitutionality became the axes on which discussion of public questions turned.

Throughout the book runs the suggestion of a democracy immensely better, humanly speaking, than the so-called democracy that we now have, but Professor Smith prefers to devote himself mainly to examining the evils that have grown up and pointing the contrast between the ideal and the real. In a truly democratic State, for example, cities would enjoy self-government for the reason that Legislatures, being largely representative of rural areas, have no comprehension of municipal needs. The present deprivation of municipal rights is aided by "the centralization of economic and financial power in the hands of a small class representing the public utilities and the large business interests," and still more by the peculiar American theory of a final judicial interpretation of the Constitution and laws. To this latter subject Professor Smith returns again and again, making it, indeed, one of his major arguments. Judicial decisions, he reminds us, constitute a check not only upon the Legislature but also upon the executive. "A small, shrewd minority, by the repeated avowal of democratic aims," has transformed what was originally designed as a means of enforcing constitutional restraints into a system which centralizes political authority largely in the Supreme Court and makes the Constitution "an adequate bulwark of con-

servatism." The true theory of the Constitution, Professor Smith thinks, is that expounded with "unanswerable logic" by Calhoun—a division of authority between the United States and the States, with no power in the Supreme Court to resolve a difference between them.

The scope of Professor Smith's criticism broadens as it advances. "By the unchecked act of the government" the country may now be plunged into war, or committed by treaties to policies which work a fundamental change in the character of the State. The attempt to make the United States a member of the League of Nations was mischievous and the more because the League is ill devised to serve as a genuinely international State. There is very little documentary evidence, Professor Smith declares, to support the notion that the American people have "a passion for equality," although there has been at times "emphatic disapproval of certain kinds of inequality which discriminated against the majority of the people."

The subversive influence of capitalism is accorded a considerable place in Professor Smith's book. Capitalism, he points out, is by nature a centralizing influence since its concern is with profits rather than with the general good, and it is naturally imperialistic because its operations are worldwide. To the imperialistic trend Christianity lends its weight, partly because Christianity has always accepted the social inequalities of the existing order, and partly because the conception of a one true religion implies the idea that the religion should be universal and exclusive. To the same end work military preparedness, which Professor Smith sees only as an incitement to war, and the kind of patriotism that inheres in a narrow nationalism such as some of the countries of post-war Europe exhibit.

Where, it will be asked, does all this criticism land us? Professor Smith's answer leaves something in the way of clearness to be desired, but apparently he would not be averse, politically and economically speaking, to rather strange bedfellows. To the extent that he is opposed to the centralization of authority in government and to what has come to be known as Federal usurpation, he is substantially in accord not only with the teachings of Calhoun, for whom he seems to have much admiration, but also with the pronouncements of Mr. Coolidge and President Hoover, both of whom have championed the rights of the States against the encroachments of the Federal Government. It is not clear that he is a

Socialist, but his strictures upon capitalism and capitalistic civilization will be heartily approved by Socialists of every stripe, just as his insistence upon individual liberty might be twisted into favor for something akin to philosophical anarchism.

His main conclusion, however, is summed up in a vibrant plea for the recovery of individual liberty of opinion and, to some extent at least, of action. "What is meant by individual liberty," he declares, "is not the right to conform, which no one questions, but the right to act as one's own judgment dictates where his opinion is opposed to that generally held." Such liberty "is inseparably connected with the theory of progress," since "individuals must be free to advance new ideas and try new methods if a higher type of civilization is to be attained." The great danger of the time is that dissent may be suppressed, and we are entitled particularly to question the economic situation because the obstacles to dissent are chiefly economic. The United States is facing, in other words, as Professor Smith sees it, the complete control of public opinion by capitalism; and against this control, if not against capitalism itself, those who wish for liberty must fight with all their strength if the democratic ideal is not to be wholly submerged.

"Witnesses"

By PHILIP MARSHALL BROWN

PROFESSOR OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

THIS critical analysis of the memoirs published in French of actual combatants in the great war is a unique monument to pure scholarship.* The author, Professor of French at Williams College, served as a common soldier—a *poilu*—in the trenches defending Verdun, where he came to understand war in all its intensity of horror and heroism. He early became aware of the revealing fact that war had been distorted and misunderstood because of its interpretation almost exclusively by civilian historians or by military men not intimately familiar with life in the trenches. He became interested in war as a totally new subject. It absorbed his whole attention and devotion both as a combatant and as a scholar. He determined to gather

**Temoins*. By Jean Norton Cru. Paris: Les Etincelles, 1929.



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together and examine analytically all the authentic first-hand evidence available concerning the World War from the point of view of the combatants.

"My book," says Professor Cru, "which appeared ten years after the end of the war, was born of my meditation in the trenches; it is the result of fourteen years of thought constantly directed upon the same subject to the detriment of daily affairs to which I was so indifferent that I ceased to read the newspapers; it is the result of five years of intensive work in the field of personal souvenirs of combatants. This is the book of a *poilu*, one of those who remained faithful to our war, one of those who survived spiritually as well as physically." (Translation by reviewer.)

It may be sensed that a book created in such poignant circumstances in response to so sacred an impulse cannot fail to be unique and worthy of the utmost respect. Rarely has scholarship been more painstaking and refined. The 300 volumes of texts examined have been submitted to the most exacting tests of extrinsic and intrinsic worth. The life history and the military experiences of each writer have been ascertained and checked in every detail. Professor Cru has created a kind of exalted impersonal judge, a sublimated *poilu* who sits in judgment on all who presume to give personal testimony concerning the facts and the nature of war. Some statements are mercilessly rejected as being utterly alien to the point of view of the common soldier, while others are warmly welcomed because of the intrinsic evidence of truth they convey. Such rigorous tests, were it not for certain mystic quality and authoritative sincerity, might otherwise be deemed grossly arbitrary and unjust. As a combatant and a scholar the author is fiercely intolerant of what seems to him mere literary pose and downright sham. He dismisses without much consideration what he deems to be current illusions regarding the attitude of the combatant toward war as a "contest," his courage or fear. He disposes of the various "legends" and exaggerations concerning the aid miraculously afforded by resurrected soldiers, the famous "Trench of the Bayonet," the "heaps of dead" and "torrents of blood."

The author has succeeded in assembling a formidable group of credible witnesses whose testimony is considered to be worthy of study by the historians. He has characterized his labors as those of one

who has gathered and prepared the materials for the stone mason to utilize in his work of construction. Professor Cru has performed this humble task as a labor of pure scholarship under the imperative impulse of a combatant who experienced war in his very soul. It is therefore entitled to the utmost reverence even though few may be competent to profit by this monumental study in bibliography.

What Happened in Palestine

By BERNHARD OSTROLENK

ALTHOUGH of value as a documented account in clear narrative form of the Arab attacks on Jews in Palestine last year, the chief interest of this volume* lies less in what happened than in Mr. Samuel's reaction to Palestine and to those disturbances. This does not mean that Mr. Samuel has thrust himself unduly into the picture, but that the statement of his personal standpoint refers to problems of a more permanent character.

Mr. Samuel is a practicing Zionist. "I was sick of talking and writing Zionism," he says. "The philosophy of Zionism has quite naturally exhausted itself. * * * The new value of the Zionist movement must proceed now from the character of the work in Palestine." Helping to work out problems of the Jewish homeland, Mr. Samuel felt, would give stability and root to his life. He migrated to Palestine, but doubts assail him as soon as he finds his children begin to speak Hebrew fluently and are forgetting their German and English. "Now for the first time I understood the fullness of the responsibility which we had taken upon ourselves. I had always believed deeply, strongly, that for the reconstruction of the healthy Jewish mind there was needed a return to the language as well as to the country. * * * If we were to be whole, productive, strong, this trading in cultural heritages had to stop. And I wanted to save my children from the torment of an inner division, the banal problems of Jew by faith and Jew by race. But here when I came face to face with it I was taken aback. Was I prepared to put these children in a corner of the Near East? Make Hebrew—that still isolated language—the natural medium of their lives? Turn them over to something which doubtless was whole and complete

**What Happened in Palestine.* By Maurice Samuel. The Stratford Company. Boston, 1929. \$2.

but perhaps not adequate to the full modern intellectual development I wanted for them? * * * My languages give me immediate access to the streams of world thought. * * * But it is not easy for one who is a cosmopolitan Jew, an international Jew, to imagine his children otherwise without some bewilderment. That my children would be different from me, and to some extent as alien to my questionings, as was the case between my parents and myself, was obvious. * * * If they were given the chance to be whole, I had to forego certain intimacies. But suppose they would develop a forlorn localism of spirit hedged in by the technical insufficiencies of the situation."

Mr. Samuel carefully and honestly weighs these considerations, the problems of a bilingual people, the theatre, the poverty and the many personal and group problems that confront so daring and idealistic an undertaking as is going on in Palestine. The weight is overwhelmingly in favor of "being natural and at the same time a Jew." The Arab attacks have not shaken his faith. They have disturbed his equanimity and he writes with some irritation of the ridiculous picture when as a member of the defense group, "I ran down the road from Tel Aviv, with a club in my hand, to meet some Arab or other with whom I had no quarrel and who, God knows, had no quarrel with me, the hideous folly and unsympathy of the English official attitude in Palestine was revealed as by a symbol and made me even more sick than the incident itself. What had all this to do with our work? What had it to do with the national problems that faced us and the personal problems I had set myself? We want to work, not to fight."

From the Arab standpoint, Mr. Samuel regards the uprising as a failure and a demonstration of the mutual sympathy of Arab and Jew. About 160,000 Jews in Palestine were surrounded by five times as many Arabs. Scores of the Jewish colonies are isolated among Arab villages and virtually the entire population was vulnerable to attack. The defense of the Jews was crippled and British protection amounted to almost connivance with the Arabs. And the total result was the killing of about 130 Jews, of whom 90 were massacred in three exposed places—Hebron, Safed and Motza. This was not the uprising that was planned nor the check on Jewish will it was supposed to furnish. "It was, instead, an exposure of the falseness of the claim that the Arabs are opposed to the building of the Jewish home-

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land; and by implication it was a confirmation of the already firmly established belief that peace between the Jews and the Arabs is more natural than is enmity."

The International Relations of Manchuria

By A. M. NIKOLAIEFF

THE complex and delicate situation in Manchuria, resulting from the conflicting interests of three powers (China, Russia and Japan), to which the political status and economic development of that vast region are a matter of vital importance, and from the general unsettled conditions in China, is the subject of this study.* It is one of the series of publications prepared for the 1929 Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Kyoto, Japan, at which the problem of Manchuria was one of the principal matters discussed. It contains a digest and analysis of treaties and agreements on which the relations between China and the powers are based and covers the period from the conclusion of the Shimomoseki treaty after the war between China and Japan (1895) and the subsequent granting by China to Russia of a concession to construct a short cut of the Transsiberian Railway across Manchuria up to the recent controversy between China and the Soviet Union over the Chinese Eastern Railway as far as it had developed by July, 1929.

The four periods into which the international relations of Manchuria "fall very naturally," correspond exactly, as pointed out by the author, to the periods which characterize the modern foreign relations of China generally. The first period, from the Sino-Japanese War to the end of the Russo-Japanese War (1905), may be characterized as the "Russian period in Manchuria," in which Russia obtained, besides the leased territory in Liaotung, a series of concessions for the construction of the Chinese Eastern Railway with an administrative zone in which Russian jurisdiction prevailed. With regard to the Liaotung leased territory, which after the treaty of Portsmouth passed to Japan, together with the southern section of the Chinese Eastern Railway, it should be pointed out that it was called Kwantung, not after the Russo-Japanese War, as the

author states, but before the war. The Russian official name of that territory (about 1,270 square miles), formed by the southern end of the Liaotung peninsula and including Port Arthur and Dalni (later Dairen), was the Kwantung region, and in 1903 it was placed, together with the Priamur Government General, under the control of Admiral Alexeev, who was appointed Viceroy in the Russian Far East.

The "Russian period" was followed by the period of Japanese expansion, during which "Japan laid the foundation for her subsequent permanent position" of superiority in Manchurian economics and diplomacy. That position was established in 1915 (the beginning of the third period) by the Sino-Japanese treaty and exchange of notes with respect to South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia. The third period saw also "the development of a new and more vital interest of Great Britain and the United States in Manchuria. * * * which was expressed through the formation of the international banking consortium in 1918." A conflict between the open-door policy, enunciated by the United States as early as 1899, and the assertion of treaty rights which "constituted, in fact, limitations of the general assertion" of that policy, was in progress.

The fourth period opened with the Washington conference, "unquestionably the most significant international event of the period from 1921 to 1929 in its bearing on the international relations of Manchuria." The conference, says the author, gave to the principle of the open-door policy, as found in the nine-power treaty, a more definite character and international legal status. It is to be regretted that no details are given with regard to that treaty, since, in view of its importance, they would be of interest to a student of the question.

Brief Book Reviews

THE ESSENTIALS OF DEMOCRACY.

By A. D. Lindsay. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1929. \$1.

Dr. Lindsay, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, came to America to deliver a series of lectures at Swarthmore College under the auspices of the William J. Cooper Foundation. These lectures are now published in this small but pithy volume in which various theories of democracy are discussed and applied to modern problems of government. We are apt to be disillusioned with democracy, today, says Dr. Lindsay, because the democratic principles

**The International Relations of Manchuria.* By C. Walter Young. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929.

on which early, small experiments in democracy, such as the Massachusetts Colony with its public meeting, were based cannot be made to apply to the vast political State of the twentieth century which governs 100,000,000 people. Thus we must arrive at a new definition of or compromise with the ideal of democracy. One seventeenth century school of democratic thought, the Levellers, argued that unanimous consent of the governed was indispensable to a democracy. But this, Dr. Lindsay shows, is impossible to attain except by imposing an autocratic will, as in Soviet Russia, and smothering all opposition, the result of which is, paradoxically, Caesarism. The importance of an organized opposition and of free discussion in small groups is inestimable in a modern democracy, because in actual fact the "will of the people" and the "voice of the people" are myths. The people can express their desires only in a choice of leadership put before them. Whether that leadership should try to carry out what it considers the popular will or attempt to convince the people of what it thinks best for them is, says Dr. Lindsay, a question.

EUROPE: A HISTORY OF TEN YEARS.

By Raymond Leslie Buell, with the aid of the staff of the Foreign Policy Association. New edition revised. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

This work, the result of cooperative enterprise, for which, however, Mr. Buell is responsible as far as the opinions are concerned, has met such an urgent need for a summary of European affairs since its first publication in September, 1928, that the opportunity has been taken in issuing a new edition to revise the work and introduce new matter. It only remains to say that in 438 pages Mr. Buell has given us an excellent survey of European problems that have arisen or developed since the end of the war.

UP TO NOW. An Autobiography by Alfred E. Smith. New York: The Viking Press, 1929. \$5.

Many of the reasons why more than 15,000,000 people cast their votes for Alfred E. Smith in November, 1928, are apparent in the autobiography which the Democratic candidate for President has written. The story of the boy who was born in the shadow of Brooklyn Bridge on New York's lower east side is noteworthy for its humanity, its preoccupation with simple, unsophisticated virtues of neighborliness. Interest in his fellow-men is certainly Al Smith's ruling passion, as revealed by his book. And yet, there is a paradoxical devotion to principle, an ability to hold off an idea at arm's length and view it impersonally that impresses the reader, whether or not he agrees with Mr. Smith's opinions. As a painter of a background Smith shows uncanny skill. The book is as vigorous,

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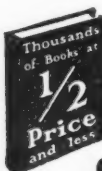
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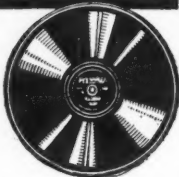
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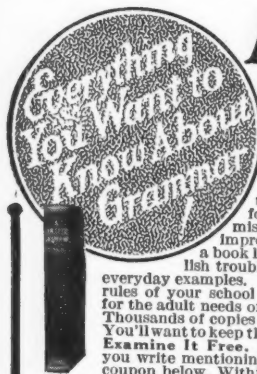
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THE LIFE OF GEORGE MEREDITH.

By Robert Esmonde Sencourt. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929. \$3.50.

Based upon a great deal of hitherto unavailable material, this work at once takes its place as the authoritative biography of George Meredith, one of the greatest of English novelists and a fine poet as well. Mr. Sencourt has sought accuracy in the most thoroughgoing fashion, has handled his information with excellent judgment and has finally told his story with marked literary distinction. This work will do much to prevent us from forgetting how great a figure Meredith was in the literature of the nineteenth century and to send us back to a re-reading of the novels in which one of the world's truly great minds found expression.

THE NEW EDUCATION IN THE SOVIET REPUBLIC.

By Albert P. Pinkevitch. Translated under the auspices of the International Institute, Teachers College, Columbia University. New York: The John Day Company, 1929. \$4.

This work by one of the leading educators of Soviet Russia has a twofold interest. For educators it contains much that is novel in theory and practice, although, strangely enough, America has been drawn upon for not a little inspiration in the building up of the new Soviet school system. But the book will be no less valuable to students of politics and social science for its very thorough exposition of how the whole system of Soviet education is being made to serve the purposes of the new economic and social order which the Communists are trying to establish and make permanent.

THE FIVE-DAY WEEK IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES.

New York: National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., 1929. \$1.50.

This is a brief but highly important study by business executives and scientific experts of the operation of the five-day week in 270 manufacturing establishments in the United States. The result of the study is stated in the following words: "The conclusion that any or all industrial establishments could advantageously adopt the five-day week schedule does not follow from the evidence offered in its favor by a majority of the companies that are qualified from experience to appraise its advantages and drawbacks. This evidence does, however, remove the five-day week

from the status of a radical and impractical administrative experiment and places it among the plans which, however revolutionary they may appear to some, have demonstrated both practicability and usefulness under certain circumstances."

THE WINSTON SIMPLIFIED DICTIONARY. Encyclopedic Edition. Edited by William Dodge Lewis, Henry Seidel Canby and Thomas Kite Brown Jr. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company, 1929. \$5.

Good dictionaries are indispensable tools in every activity that makes for civilization. That is why this new work is to be welcomed; it is a volume of convenient size, excellently printed, based on sound scholarship, packed with practically every word we are likely to come across from day to day (being in this respect surprisingly up-to-date) and above all remarkable for the trouble that has been taken to explain meanings, not in terms equally difficult, but in the simplest manner possible. We know of no dictionary of our language which could be of greater service in everyday life.

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Deeply involved in the revolutionary movement of '48, Schurz came to America in 1852, and during the following ten years he was in training for the leading position in the liberal movement which he later assumed. The narrative closes with the Civil War.

JAMES, MARQUIS. *The Raven, a Biography of Sam Houston.* Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1929. \$5.

The amazing career of the man to whose leadership we owe the annexation of Texas, a hardy pioneer and a constructive statesman.

YOUNG, JAMES C. *Marse Robert, Knight of the Confederacy.* New York: Henkle, 1929. \$5.

A sympathetic account of the life of the greatest soldier and the most lovable character of the time of our Civil War.

ECONOMICS

BURR, WALTER. *Small Towns; an Estimate of Their Trade and Culture.* New York: Macmillan, 1929. \$2.50.

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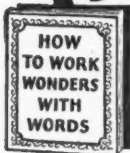
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The first volume of an exhaustive study made by the International Labor Office, containing monographs and official statistics of the greatest importance for the study of this pressing international problem.

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A study of the supply and consumption of food products, textile fibers, forest products, of fuels and power, and so forth, and of their effect on international relations.

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Traces the development of our national policy in handling the trust problem and compares it with similar experience abroad. Deals extensively with the history of many of our large combinations.

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A picturesque chronicle of the American money market, of Jacob Little, Daniel Drew, Jim Fisk, Vanderbilt, Gould and their successors.

WINKLER, MAX. *Investments of United States Capital in Latin-American Countries.* Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1929. \$2.

An invaluable summary of the progress of our foreign trade in Latin America, together with a statement of those political, economic and financial conditions in each of these countries which are important for the investor to know.

HISTORY

GARRETT, G. T. *An Indian Commentary.* New York: Cape & Smith, 1929. \$2.75.

An attempt to describe and explain the problem involved in the rise of nationalism in India in so far as it affects future relations with the British Empire. Makes no pretense of providing a solution.

GUICHARD, LOUIS. *The Naval Blockade, 1914-1918.* New York: Appleton, 1930. \$3.50.

An important contribution to the history of war and to a study of the doctrine of the freedom of the seas. The author studies objectively and thoroughly the accomplishments of the blockade and its results.

MOTT, JOHN LUTHER. *A History of American Magazines, 1728-1850*. New York: Appleton, 1930. \$10.

Although most of the magazines which are described have been forgotten, they were of the greatest influence in the development of America. This monumental work is to be followed by another dealing with the later period.

PARLETT, SIR HAROLD. *A Brief Account of Diplomatic Events in Manchuria*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1929. \$1.25.

A short review, written by a recognized authority. For a more extended treatment of the same subject, see Young below.

YOUNG, C. WALTER. *The International Relations of Manchuria*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929. \$3.50.

Published under the auspices of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, this work is essential to a proper understanding of events in that troubled area. A long review appears in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY.

POLITICAL SCIENCE

HOETZSCH, OTTO. *Germany's Domestic and Foreign Policies*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929. \$1.50.

Lectures at the Williamstown Institute by a Professor at the University of Berlin, who is also a member of the Reichstag.

JESSUP, PHILIP C. *The United States and the World Court*. Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1929. \$2.

An explanation of the negotiations that have followed the Senate's reservations on the World Court treaty, with an appendix containing the documents in the case.

STAWELL, F. MELIAN. *The Growth of International Thought*. London: Butterworth, 1929. 2s. 6d.

This new volume in the Home University Library traces briefly and interestingly the development of the idea of internationalism from the Greeks to the present.

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Pictorial Section

THE LONDON CONFERENCE



Times Wide World

KING GEORGE OPENING THE CONFERENCE

His Majesty George V welcoming the delegates of the five powers at the first plenary session in the royal gallery of the House of Lords on Jan. 21



Associated Press

HIS MAJESTY SEATED ON A GILDED THRONE

During the reading of the French translation of his speech. This was the King's first public utterance since his almost fatal illness

LEADERS OF THE DELEGATIONS—



Times Wide World
**PRIME
 MINISTER
 RAMSAY
 MACDONALD**
 Speaking immediately after the King, he outlined the British position in general terms. At Mr. MacDonald's right are Mr. Arthur Henderson, Captain Wedgwood Benn and Mr. A. V. Alexander, British delegates; at his left, Premier Tardieu and M. Briand

Times Wide World
**SECRETARY
 OF STATE
 STIMSON**
 Head of the U. S. delegation, whose speech followed Mr. MacDonald's. At the left of Mr. Stimson are Ambassador Dawes and Secretary Adams

STATE THE AIMS OF THE CONFERENCE



Times Wide World
**PREMIER
ANDRE
TARDIEU**
Standing before a
mural depicting
the Battle of Tra-
falgar, M. Tardieu
spoke for France



Associated Press
**SIGNOR
DINO
GRANDI**
Italian Foreign
Minister, who fol-
lowed M. Tardieu
with a statement
of the Fascist pro-
gram. He spoke
in excellent Eng-
lish

PRINCIPALS AT THE HAGUE REPARATIONS CONFERENCE



HEADS OF THE FRENCH AND GERMAN DELEGATIONS
The four central figures, Foreign Minister Briand and Premier Tardieu of France, with Foreign Minister Curtius and Herr Moldenhauer, the new German Finance Minister, who accomplished the final negotiations of the Young plan in December and January

Times Wide World

PRIMO DE RIVERA AND HIS SUCCESSOR



◆
ACME
GENERAL
D'AM-
ASO
BEREN-
GUER

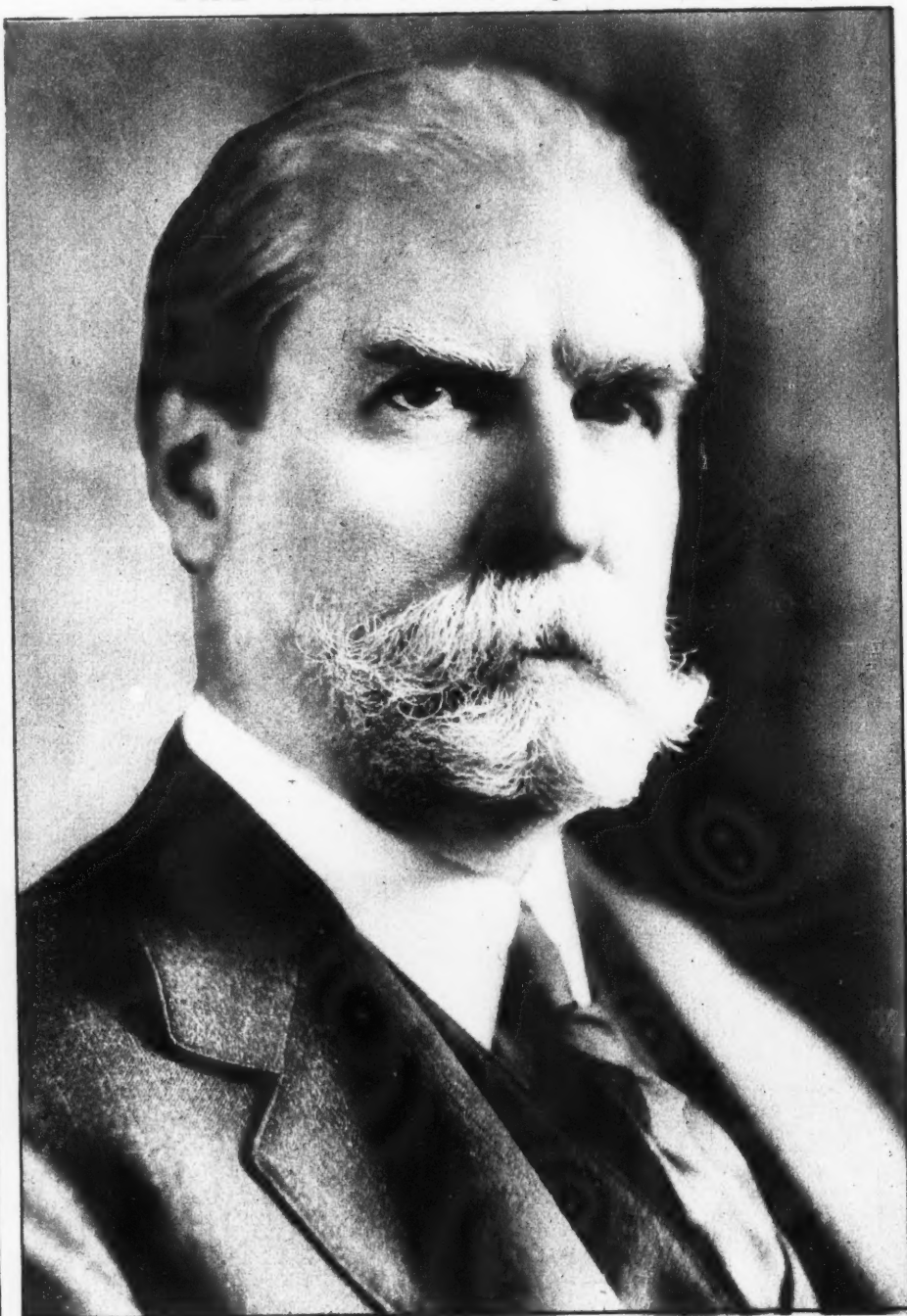
Who be-
came head
of Spain's
transitional
government
on the resig-
nation of Gen-
eral Primo de
Rivera, on Jan.
28. General Beren-
guer, the former
Military Governor of
Morocco, immediately
undertook to restore
constitutional govern-
ment in Spain



◆◆
Associated Press
GENERAL
PRIMO DE
RIVERA

After a six-
year dictator-
ship he handed
his resignation
to the King

THE NEW CHIEF JUSTICE



Harris & Ewing

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

Appointed by President Hoover to succeed Mr. Taft. Mr. Hughes resigned from the World Court to become head of the Supreme Court, of which he was Associate Justice from 1910 to 1916

THE RETIRED CHIEF JUSTICE



Harris & Ewing

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT
President of the United States, 1908 to 1912, and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court
since 1921, who resigned the latter position on Feb. 4 because of illness

THE PAPAL SECRETARY OF STATE



CARDINAL PACELLI

Associated Press

Slated to succeed Cardinal Gasparri on his retirement as the Pope's Secretary of State. Formerly Papal Nuncio to Berlin, he was made a Cardinal by the Pope in December, 1929

Current HISTORY

The Present Pope's Attitude Toward Liberalism

By COUNT CARLO SFORZA
FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER OF ITALY

IT WAS in September, 1870, that the head of the Roman Catholic Church was deprived by force of his last possession, Rome. Pius IX, who was then Pope, had ten years earlier excommunicated the Italian King and the Italian Government when they occupied all the Pontifical States with the exception of Rome, where Napoleon III had sent a French garrison, thus buying to his illiberal régime the support of the French Catholics.

With the long, peaceful years that followed each other and the steady progress made in all fields by democratic Italy, and with the position that she had achieved among the great powers, the excommunications fulminated by Pius IX sank into oblivion. They had gone the way of the *Donatio Constantini*, the "document" that for centuries had been quoted as the juridical basis of the Papal States, the deed by which Constantine, it was as-

serted, had left Rome and Italy to Pope Sylvester before he went to settle at Constantinople. Nowadays, even Catholic historians admit that the document was a pious forgery perpetrated by some ingenious monk; they admit it, although they do not care very much to lay stress on their admission. But, while leaving the excommunications in the background, neither the three first successors of Pius IX—Leo XIII, Pius X and Benedict XV—nor the present Pope Pius XI, ever formally admitted that they could do without a territorial sovereign State.

In reality, a situation had been created which seemed till yesterday to most European statesmen the embodiment of practical wisdom. Every two or three years the Popes declared in an encyclical that the state of things created for them in Rome by the Italian Government was "intolerable"; the Italian Government took care not to

make any answers; and on the following day confidential agents from the Vatican went to see Italian officials, sometimes the Italian Minister himself, as I myself happened to be on more than one such occasion, and quietly and successfully arranged all the questions concerning, for instance, those very Italian missionaries and Bishops abroad whose rallying to Italy is now quoted as if it were something new and as one of the advantages the Italian Kingdom will reap from the Lateran agreements.

I know of only one case and passing moment when these "protests" really risked harming Italy. It was when in 1881-82 Leo XIII, irritated or frightened by some silly anti-clerical demonstrations in the streets of Rome, secretly appealed to the Austrian Emperor for a shelter in Trenton, then an Austrian province, with the hope of preaching a crusade against Liberal Italy from a safe Austrian refuge. Yes, Leo XIII, who in other fields had appeared a far-seeing spirit, thought it possible to form an alliance of Catholic powers that would through military force have reinstated a Pontifical State in Italy. I heard of this phase of papal diplomacy from Count Aehrenthal in Budapest in 1910 during certain secret conversations I had been asked to conduct with him just because I happened to be a young and inconspicuous diplomat. Answering bitter truths he had been obliged to hear from me, Count Aehrenthal told me of the Pope's attempt, and the fact that Franz Josef had given Leo's dreams quite a cold douche. I confess that at the time I was rather inclined to think that Aehrenthal exaggerated his master's Italian merits. But the documents with which I became acquainted after the destruction of the Austrian monarchy have proved that the last servant of the Habsburgs told me simply the plainest truth. In a conversation with a secret envoy from the Emperor, Leo XIII had gone as far as this: "It is necessary—he had said—and the envoy wrote to Franz Josef—that the Pontiff leave Rome and that he return through the action of the

Catholic sovereigns, who must understand the solidarity of their cause with mine."

Benedict XV, probably the most intelligent of modern Popes, seems to have held quite opposite views; at least, he opposed the most discouraging silence to the offers made to him by the Central Empires during the World War for the reconstitution of a small Pontifical State. For example, Erzberger, then leader of the German Catholic Centre, wrote of *Miniaturgebiet*. The territorial clauses he proposed, in fact, were similar to the arrangement concluded in 1929 with the Lateran treaties; but Erzberger, an enemy during the war, spoke of 500,000,000 lire to be given by Italy in case of an Italian defeat, while the Fascist régime gave, ten years after victory, 1,750,000,000 lire.

I have reason to believe that the idea of Benedict during the war was the maintenance of the law of guarantees, which had in practice worked out so well since 1871, but backed by an Italian Christian democracy strong enough to assume power in Italy some day or at any rate to withstand any possible, if improbable, intolerance of Liberal governments.

After the war Benedict seemed to return to the idea of the sovereignty over the Vatican palaces. Such, at least, was the basis of the conversations that went on confidentially between the Roman Catholic Curia and Orlando and Nitti, who, in 1919, succeeded the former Italian Prime Minister. To both of these the tentative demands made by the Vatican were incomparably more moderate than the terms imposed on the Fascist Government in 1929. The Papal spokesman did not even dare to suggest to Orlando and Nitti either a concordat or still less the virtual re-establishment of canon law in Italian civil life.

When in June, 1920, the Nitti Cabinet resigned and Giolitti came into power again, with myself as Foreign Minister, he took cognizance of the confidential negotiations of his predecessor, with whom I had served as Under-Sec-

retary of State for Foreign Affairs. After a few days of thought, Giolitti said to me: "Nitti has acted with prudence, but I belong to the old school. I believe that the best for Church and State in Italy is to be like two parallels which never cross each other, never diverge and never meet." For my part, I quite agreed. From personal experience I was still more convinced that any change might be to the disadvantage of my country in that very field where amateur diplomats have always imagined Italy's power might increase through a "conciliation"—I refer to the missions in the Levant and in Africa.

Serious French writers, probably inspired more by patriotic fear than by an objective study of the situation, wrote, after the conclusion of the Lateran treaties on Feb. 11, 1929, that "Italy gained what she had dreamed of for the last fifty years—to take Austria's place as protector of Catholicism in Central Europe and in the Balkans." This sort of French preoccupation is simply one of the recurring proofs that in certain Paris traditional circles ideas and judgments are still frequently molded on notions of the past.

First of all, I deny with serene certainty that Italy—I mean free Italy—ever thought of taking over Austria's Catholic supremacy in the Balkans. On the contrary, I always felt that if the "Catholic" character of Austria's Oriental policy seemed no impediment to Austrian diplomacy, it was simply because the Ballplatz and the Hofburg were no longer a living entity and could use only weapons of the past. But Italy was for us—and will be again—a great living force.

What do we see in the new Europe? In Czechoslovakia, the strongest of the new States created after victory, a "national" and anti-Roman current begins to be felt even in the Catholic communities. In a lesser degree the same tendency may be detected in Croatia, where the *Obzor* dared in 1929 to declare that "the Vatican is our enemy." Rumania and Bulgaria are orthodox countries where all attempts to create

a movement toward a union with the Roman Church have always proved vain and fruitless. Only in Hungary was the agreement between the Vatican and the Fascist Government viewed with favor, which proves what I have said. As long as the brave and noble Hungarian nation remains under the control of a group of aristocratic families who, under the cover of a noisy "patriotism" think only of their landlords' privileges, Hungary will remain, as old Austria was, a thing of the past.

Leaving aside as irrelevant for permanent history the reasons that led the Fascist Government to offer the Pope much more than German Catholics had schemed for in the event of an Austro-German victory, let us ask what is historically worth ascertaining as to the motives which prompted Pius XI to seek such a momentous change as that embodied in the Lateran treaties.

Facts being more convincing than political formulae, nobody can deny that the Popes enjoyed in Italy and in the world since the loss of temporal power in 1870 a moral prestige and a freedom far greater than any ever had in a formally more Catholic Europe. Before 1870 the Church suffered enormously among us because of identification with the Bourbon and Austrian tyrants who were keeping Italy enslaved, just as before the French Revolution the Church, in spite of great material possessions and official prestige, seemed on the verge of death in France.

When Cavour created a free, united Italy and gave as a basis to her relations with the Church his famous formula, "A free Church in a free State," he foresaw, as he wrote, that, "as soon as the Church will have tasted of liberty she will feel herself rejuvenated by this healthful and strengthening régime." Old Visconti-Venosta, who had married Cavour's niece, used to tell me that Cavour in his last days more than once repeated with one of those laughs that hid the deep seriousness of his sovereign thought the remark, "Who knows? Perhaps the Church will end by canonizing me." Cavour's canonization does not seem near. But his proph-

ecy was fulfilled because the Church appeared again as one of the leading moral forces in the world only after losing all temporal power and living in a régime of common liberty.

Not only were the "prisoner" Popes invited to act as arbitrators in more than one diplomatic controversy; the Church also owed the end of her worst humiliation to the situation Liberal Italy had made for her. This burning humiliation was the maintenance of the right of veto against the election of some Pope, used by certain powers in the Conclave, in spite of all the rules enforced to guard the independence of the Cardinals. The Church had succeeded in suppressing the right of veto only during the last period of the "prisoner" Popes. I should not be surprised if some Foreign Offices were already thinking of some scheme for the creation of a substitute for the old veto.

The *Osservatore Romano*, the official organ of the Vatican, wrote in 1929, without being contradicted, that the Pope had been offered by the Fascist Government more territories than he accepted. The statement is important, not so much to prove the political urgency the Fascist Government felt in reaching some agreement, as to show that what most concerned the Pope was not territory. It would certainly be difficult not to admit that some elements in the Church must have felt an unholy joy at the idea that the Italy of the hated Cavour had at last been defeated. Has not one of the most important Catholic reviews dared to write that the Lateran Treaties have destroyed the traditions of "the Risorgimento, this gigantic Fiume adventure?" In a more serene atmosphere it seems more probable that what decided the Vatican was not so much the offer of a small territory as the Concordat which only the present Fascist régime could have offered. As Pius XI himself rightly said, that was the decisive reason, though there were of course minor reasons as well.

Let us examine the minor reasons, those that one is generally afraid to touch upon, lest one should fall into

that petty anti-clerical style so devoid of any sense of history. One must, however, have the courage to admit that the enormous "indemnity" paid by the Italian State to the Vatican has played a certain part, not, of course, in the sense of a vulgar desire for money, but only because Italian money enables the Vatican to maintain a more independent attitude toward the English-speaking world. Since the war the Holy See has received hardly any financial support from France, Germany and Austria, while Italy had never given a cent. Everything came from Great Britain and America, and with this money came increased pressure for some kind of proportional representation. Now, the last non-Italian Pope was Adrian VI, from Utrecht, Holland, who, elected in 1522, died in 1523, so that for centuries the Popes have all been Italians, as have been also the great majority of Cardinals and Nuncios. Not only did the Italians dislike losing this privileged position; they also believed themselves fitted to be at the helm of the Church. Thus, so as to be able to withstand the pressure from the English-speaking countries, there was need of an independent financial basis. The 1,750,000,000 lire that the Italian taxpayers have been forced to find for the Pope give the permanent Italian personnel of the Curia a new strength to resist those indiscreet English-speaking Catholics who hold that the Church has need of new blood.

Another minor reason might be found in the difficulties which arose from rejecting the more advantageous offers made by a régime that hoped to find in a "conciliation" the moral prestige of which there was sore need. Fascism being what it is and the sudden reversals of its chief's extreme attitudes being notorious, one may suppose that the papal authorities thought it dangerous to risk a change from the feigned religious manifestations of the Fascists to acts of anti-clerical violence of which liberal governments were never capable.

The personality of Pope Pius XI, however, holds in itself the essential

motives that led to the conclusion of the agreement with the Fascist Government. A common hatred is frequently a stronger link than a common love. The Catholicism of Pius XI and the policies of the Fascist leaders are alike in their antagonism to political liberty. Even the talk about the moral value of violence and its bloody practical applications were to the Catholicism of Pius XI much less uncanonical than pious souls might believe—yes, the Catholicism of Pius XI—for his conceptions constitute a radical departure from the political thought of his predecessor.

Benedict XV, faced as he had been with the melancholy fruits which the Church had reaped from the medieval policy of Pius X, had left to Catholic laity the widest possible autonomy in the social and political fields. He put his trust in the beneficent influence of liberty. Breaking with all the Vatican traditions, he had the courage to allow the foundation in Italy of the Popular party whose aim under Sturzo's leadership was to associate the Church with a progressive social action. For all its errors, excusable in a troubled period and in view of its tumultuous origin, the Popular party might have become an important element in the life of the nation, for it represented currents that will probably never disappear from Italy. For the Popes it might have meant the real "conciliation." In no way compromising the Vatican, declaring itself independent of it, the Popular party would have stood for a free apology of Christian thought. But all that could not be crystallized in protocols.

The new Pope Pius XI was not only, like Pius X, hostile to the ideas of liberty; he was also the kind of scholar who, having grown up among libraries and archives, was afraid of life. He believed that a good treaty, drawn up in the traditional form, would be better. To those who pointed out to him that it was dangerous to deal with demagogues, he answered: "I know, but at least they do not believe in the fetishes of liberalism." That was the link.

It cannot be denied that in the gen-

eral administration of the Church, even outside Italy, Pius XI has at least the merit of maintaining the continuity of his own idea. That idea is to revive the policy of the disciplinarian unity of the Church that was pursued by Pius X, in order to arrive at what might be termed the administrative unity of the Church. That accounts for the juridical and actual centralization in the person of the Pope of all the questions that had always been left to the congregations or to the Bishops throughout the world and the tendency to eliminate the democratic currents of the Catholic parties in Italy as in any other country, and substitute for them the rigid framework of the traditional sacerdotal structures.

While Pius XI has in Italy destroyed the Popular party, he has in Germany brought it about that the Catholic Centre, in order to obtain the enactment of a bill that favored the denominational schools, has abandoned its alliance with the Socialists and replaced it by an alliance with the nationalistic and militaristic Right. In Spain he has striven against the Christian democratic movement in Catalonia, and especially against its republican character. In Belgium he has imposed the *Union Catholique* on Catholics and sacrificed to the conservative elements the claims of the democrats from Flanders. In France, it is true, he has condemned the *Action Française*, which conducted a campaign for the restoration of the monarchy and for war, but this condemnation has actually been nothing more than a noisy episode of slight political significance and of no doctrinal importance at all, since the Pope has never found the courage to publish the encyclical which had been announced and which was to refute the doctrines of nationalistic hatred of the *Action Française* and proclaim in their stead a Catholic system of international morality. It might be denied that the encyclical had been prepared, but these lines are being written almost entirely in Belgium; and I know where and how the document was drawn up by a com-

mittee of theologians and jurists and also the name of the Belgian Jesuit who was to write the text of it. Pius XI probably never dared to run the risk of displeasing the governments with which he has concluded his most important treaties and who live exclusively by trading on national hatred.

This policy of mistrust of liberty, this desire to centralize around the Pope all the forces of Catholic laity, have led Pius XI to demand for the Pontiff an even more definite personal power and a position even more sublimated and to insist that obedience to the moral law dictated by the Church be henceforth merged into a sort of Pontifical cult. Even if no poor personal vanity has come into play, this dangerous emphasis was inevitable, granted the policy of the present Pope. One had to put unity of feeling in the place of the fruitful battles for unity of thought within the Church, which one had tried to suppress. Already we see in France, since autocrats always find flatterers, the sinister formation of the "Pope's Volunteers" who preach a new gospel of passive obedience, even in all those matters in which the most orthodox tradition has always allowed the most complete freedom of criticism and discussion. This movement is the counterpart of the Catholic affection in Italy of an entire party that proclaims its respect of the Church, "for she is useful to Italian prestige." On both sides of the Alps the sole result is decadence of a true and active religious spirit.

In Italy even the blindest must admit that the vital forces of the religious organizations having been destroyed, the Popular party dissolved, Sturzo exiled after devoting his life to giving a new conception of citizenship to the religious spirit in public life, the Pope, thinking he has become all-powerful, finds himself isolated as soon as the Fascist leaders confront him with the alternatives of submission and open warfare. Had he trusted to freedom, he might have taken up the gauntlet. Alone, he must needs accept compromise after compromise, humiliation

after humiliation. On the morrow of the signature of the Lateran treaties, Pius XI, full of the joy of his personal triumph, let slip words that he afterward bitterly regretted, such as that he had met in the other party—Mussolini—"a man sent by Providence," a man who, like himself, did not believe "in the ugly fetishes of liberalism." Already one of the predecessors of Pius XI had written in the '80s: "Although in the extraordinary conditions of these times the Church usually acquiesces in certain modern liberties, not because she professes them in themselves, but because she judges it expedient to permit them, she would in happier times exercise her own liberty, and, by persuasion, exhortation and entreaty would endeavor, as she is bound, to fulfill the duty assigned to her by God of providing for the eternal salvation of mankind."

Notwithstanding the speedy disillusionment furnished to Pius XI by the "man sent by Providence," it seems difficult to imagine that he can ever recover his freedom of action and his power. He refused to believe in the freedom in which his predecessor had trusted, and he is the victim of the flimsy diplomatic defenses that he must erect for himself. However, it may be that he goes on hoping that as long as liberty never comes back, the "happier times" may dawn when the Church, if "persuasion, exhortation and entreaty" fail, will be able to call in the secular arm to do the rest.

Meanwhile, until the happy times come again, the number is increasing in Italy, in France, in Germany, in Belgium, of those who used to laugh at the antiquated anti-clerical slogans of Free Masonry and who have now begun to think that after all it is perhaps true that the secret thought of the Church is: "I ask full liberty from democracies in the name of their principles, but as soon as I can, I deny to the peoples all liberty in the name of my principles." No Free Masons, no Voltairians, ever worked as successfully for future violence in the religious field, as did the Vatican in the first months of 1929.

The Pope's Encyclical on Education

I—A Catholic Interpretation

By JOHN A. RYAN

PROFESSOR OF MORAL THEOLOGY AND INDUSTRIAL ETHICS, CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA;
DIRECTOR, SOCIAL ACTION DEPARTMENT, NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE COUNCIL; AUTHOR
OF SEVERAL WORKS ON RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SUBJECTS

THE Encyclical on Education "is vigorous, logical, dignified; it conveys a compelling atmosphere of faith. Even a somewhat hostile reader cannot fail to respect its noble style, its complete consistency, and its fidelity to the traditions of a Church for which time seems not to exist; for which Tertullian, St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Filippo Neri and all the great Catholic educators of the past are contemporaries of one another and of ourselves." (*The New Republic*, Jan. 29, 1930.)

The only thing that is new in the encyclical—and this is of great benefit to both Catholics and non-Catholics—is the thoroughness with which it presents the entire Catholic doctrine and discipline on the subject with which it deals. At the outset, the Holy Father lays down the proposition that the character of education is determined by man's ultimate end. Since this end is spiritual and supernatural, the main function of education is to teach the truths and ways of religion and morals. To the Catholic Church has been committed the task of directing souls along this way of life. Hence education belongs pre-eminently to the Church. Next in importance come the parents. Neither the child nor the adult exists for the State. In this connection Pope Pius quotes the dictum of the Supreme Court in the Oregon private school cases: "The child is not the mere creature of the State; those who nurture him and direct his destiny have the right, coupled with the high duty, to recognize and prepare him for additional obligation." This is an im-

plicit, but a fairly clear, recognition that the educative right of parents is superior to that of the State.

While the Pope declares that the State should respect the rights of the Church and the family, he also calls upon it to protect the educational rights of the children against neglect by their parents. The State should remove those public causes which are an obstacle to religious education. It should complete the educative work of the Church and the family wherever these are insufficient, even to the extent of providing its own schools and institutions. It can demand that all citizens have the necessary knowledge of their civic and national duties and that amount of intellectual, moral and physical culture which is indispensable for the common good.

According to the foregoing summary, the State has the duty of providing for the education of children, not only in order to make them good citizens but for their own welfare. American policy recognizes that education is primarily for the development of the human beings themselves, not primarily for the benefit of the State. If the public authorities in our country do not promote the educative work of the Church to the full extent that the Holy Father specifies, the reason is to be found in the fact that our population comprises persons of many different creeds and of no creed at all. The condemnation of a State monopoly of education, which the Pope pronounces, is, as already pointed out, implicitly endorsed in a decision of the Supreme Court. It is likewise accepted

by all American educators who believe in individual rights, family rights and the necessity of variety and competition for educational progress.

Probably the statements in the encyclical which will be most widely criticized and misunderstood are those concerning so-called neutral schools, co-education and sex education. Indeed, these declarations have already provoked dissent and mild denunciation in some of our metropolitan dailies. As regards co-education and sex education, the Pope does not condemn them outright in all circumstances. He stresses the folly of assuming that mere knowledge will effectively safeguard chastity, and the fallacy of ignoring sex differences in courses of instruction. His condemnation of neutral or lay schools applies mainly to certain countries of Europe. This is evident from his statement that these schools have originated since the beginning of the reign of Pope Pius IX. When he asserts that such institutions soon become anti-religious, he is merely describing their generally recognized results. He also forbids Catholic children to attend "mixed schools" except in such circumstances as seem to the Bishops a sufficient reason for tolerating such attendance. The reason of this prohibition is not the mere association of Catholic and non-Catholic children in the same school, for the Pope points out later that "youth cannot be segregated from society." Mixed schools are condemned as unsatisfactory for the simple reason that they necessarily exclude religious and moral instruction. As a matter of fact, there is no such thing as a school which is truly neutral as regards religion. The absence of religious instruction necessarily conveys to the pupils the suggestion or the persuasion that religion is a matter of indifference, and, therefore, unimportant. Indirectly such a school takes an attitude toward religion, and this attitude of

indifference is an implicit and constant declaration that religion does not count in life.

There is nothing in the encyclical which requires or encourages Catholic opposition to public schools in the United States. The Pope does, indeed, point out that even in a population such as ours it is possible for the State to maintain schools in which religion is taught, that is, a system of denominational schools. This is done in Canada, England, Ireland, Germany and in some other countries. Such an arrangement has never appealed to the people of the United States, nor has it ever been advocated or demanded by the American Catholic Bishops. At the present time the exclusion of all religious teaching from our public schools seems to be the only practicable arrangement. American Catholics deplore this condition, indeed, but they recognize the necessity of a public school system, even though conscience constrains them to maintain a system of their own.

"In the present encyclical," says *The New Republic* in the article already quoted, "there is nothing to disturb the American State or those Ku Kluxers and reactionary patriots who so noisily support it. The State, through the Supreme Court decision in the Oregon case, has wisely conceded the right of religious organizations to have their own schools; it insists merely on its own powers 'reasonably to regulate all schools, to inspect, supervise and examine them, their teachers and pupils.' The Church now concedes that the State can exercise this power of supervision; that it 'can demand and see to it that all citizens have necessary knowledge of their civic and national duties.' Thus, the Pope's encyclical reveals no dangerous conflict of principle between the Catholic Church and the American State."

II—A Protestant Comment

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IT IS DIFFICULT for a Protestant to comment on the encyclical of Pope Pius XI on education. The Protestant dissents from the view of authority in religion which underlies the entire document; the almost wholly deductive character of the argument is to him unconvincing, especially since he questions its premises; and its statements are so general that they seem to him to combine scholastic precision with realistic vagueness.

The Protestant is conscious, moreover, that his thought and language move in a different universe of discourse. Many important words do not mean the same to him as to the Pope. When the Protestant, in the words of the Apostles' Creed, affirms belief in the holy Catholic Church, he does not mean the Roman Catholic Church, but the universal fellowship of Christian believers; and if, in conversation or writing, he uses the term Catholic as equivalent to Roman Catholic, as I do in this paper, that is not a token of submission, but a matter of courtesy and convenience. All the Pope's language, on the other hand, presupposes that his is the one and only true Church, the mystic Body of Christ. By church the Pope presumably always means what a Protestant thinks of as the Roman Catholic Church, and likewise with other terms.

There is thus an inevitable ambivalence of thought and language when Catholic and Protestant meet in discussion of a document like this. It contains many sentences to which Protestants would readily assent, for example, those concerning the educative environment afforded by the Christian family, or the statement that "the aim of Christian education is to cooperate with Divine Grace to form a true and perfect Chris-

tian," were it not that "Christian" here means what Protestants denominate "Roman Catholic," and that "Divine Grace" has a specific meaning which Protestants cannot accept.

The principles set forth in this encyclical are not new. That "no perfect or even adequate education can exist which is not Christian education"; that religion is essential in the life of the school; that "education belongs pre-eminently to the church," and that "it is necessary that the whole teaching and organization of the school * * * be governed by the Christian spirit under the maternal direction and vigilance of the Church"; that the State is not in the full sense competent to conduct education; and that the right of parents to educate their children is God-given and inalienable—these are familiar Catholic principles.

What is new is the application of these Catholic principles to certain present-day conditions and movements. With some of the views thus expressed, many Protestants doubtless find themselves in sympathy, if due allowance be made for the differing conceptions of authority and the ambivalence of thought and language above mentioned. The perils of exaggerated nationalism in education, for example, may be discerned even by those who believe in the principle of public responsibility for education for citizenship in a democracy; and the "undue glorification of athleticism" may be deplored by protagonists of better physical education. In this connection, some will feel, the encyclical is unnecessarily tender with respect to militarism in education.

Other points at which many Protestants will feel that the letter justly challenges modern life are with respect to the errors of a "naturalism" in edu-

cation which "attributes to the child an exclusive right to initiative"; the present decline of family education and the indispensable importance of a wholesome family life; and the increased opportunities for "the moral and religious shipwreck of youth" through licentious books and lustful motion pictures. It is surprising to find the radio included in the list of evil opportunities. Can it be that this is because the radio enables Catholics to listen to unauthorized services and sermons?

Subjects on which there is doubtless considerable divergence between the Pope's views and those of most Protestants are the sex education of children, the coeducation of the sexes, the delimitation of the sciences, and the rule of academic freedom. In connection with the first and last of these he calls attention to undoubted errors and abuses; in the discussion of the second appears an example of the ambivalence of language when he associates the terms "promiscuity" and "coeducation."

Of most interest to American citizens is the section on schools. Here, too, is no new principle. It is reaffirmed that attendance at non-Catholic schools is forbidden to Catholic children except under special circumstances of which the Bishop is to be the judge. This rule against attendance at non-Catholic schools holds even though Catholic instruction be provided. To be acceptable a school must be governed by the Church which claims the right to maintain such schools as a matter of "lawful liberty." The Church further seeks "distributive justice" whereby the State will grant adequate subsidies to its schools, as well as to any that may be maintained by other creeds.

These principles have determined Catholic educational policy in the United States, and have been vigorously promoted since the third Plenary Council of 1884. Is there reason to expect that the promulgation of the present Encyclical presages some aggressive further step on the part of the Catholics in this country? I do not

know, of course; our Catholic fellow-citizens must answer that question. But I do not believe that it does.

The right of the Catholic Church to maintain its own schools is recognized by American citizens generally, and was implied in the decision of the Supreme Court declaring the Oregon compulsory education bill of 1922 to be unconstitutional. It is a right which all citizens, of whatever creed, possess. America does not affirm a State monopoly of education.

The principle of State subsidies for Church-controlled schools has not met with favor since the middle of the nineteenth century; and practically all the States have constitutional provisions forbidding the appropriation of public funds to sectarian schools. It is most unlikely that these will be repealed, and I doubt whether our Catholic fellow-citizens intend in the near future to attempt it.

The adoption of any plan whereby the schools of the State should be apportioned to the various creedal groups, or the school funds of the State so divided would be impracticable and undesirable in the United States, with its wide variety of religious denominations. It would mean the dissolution of the American public school and the stopping of the indispensable service it has been rendering to our national well-being.

I regret the almost complete omission of religion from our public schools. I believe that schools from which religion is excluded convey to their pupils a negative suggestion with respect to the truth or value of religion. Progress has been made in many States and communities, where Catholics and Protestants have agreed upon plans for the week-day religious instruction of children in the public schools, which avail in some measure to supply the omission and offset this negative suggestion. It is to be hoped that the publication of this encyclical will not hinder these and other movements toward the mutual understanding and possible cooperation of Catholics and Protestants.

III—Full Text of the Pope's Encyclical

The following is the official and complete English text (with footnotes omitted) of the Encyclical Letter on the Christian Education of Youth, issued by Pope Pius XI on Jan. 11, 1930:

VENERABLE brethren and beloved children, health and Apostolic benediction: Representative on earth of that divine Master who while embracing in the immensity of His love all mankind, even unworthy sinners, showed nevertheless a special tenderness and affection for children, and expressed Himself in those singularly touching words: "Suffer the little children to come unto Me," We also on every occasion have endeavored to show the predilection wholly paternal which We bear towards them, particularly by our assiduous care and timely instructions with reference to the Christian education of youth.

REASONS FOR TREATING OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

And so, in the spirit of the divine Master, We have directed a helpful word, now of admonition, now of exhortation, now of direction, to youths and to their educators, to fathers and mothers, on various points of Christian education, with that solicitude which becomes the common Father of all the Faithful, with an insistence in season and out of season, demanded by our pastoral office and inculcated by the Apostle: "Be instant in season, out of season; reprove, entreat, rebuke in all patience and doctrine." Such insistence is called for in these our times, when, alas, there is so great and deplorable an absence of clear and sound principles, even regarding problems the most fundamental.

Now this same general condition of the times, this ceaseless agitation in various ways of the problem of educational rights and systems in different countries, the desire expressed to Us with filial confidence by not a few of yourselves, Venerable Brethren, and by members of your flocks, as well as Our deep affection towards youth above referred to, move Us to turn more directly to this subject, if not to treat it in all its well-nigh inexhaustible range of theory and practice, at least to summarize its main principles, throw full light on its important conclusions, and point out its practical applications.

Let this be the record of Our Sacerdotal Jubilee, which with altogether special affection, We wish to dedicate to our beloved youth, and to commend to all those whose office and duty is the work of education.

Indeed, never has there been so much

discussion about education as nowadays; never have exponents of new pedagogical theories been so numerous, or so many methods and means devised, proposed and debated, not merely to facilitate education, but to create a new system infallibly efficacious and capable of preparing the present generations for that earthly happiness which they so ardently desire.

The reason is that men, created by God to His image and likeness and destined for Him Who is infinite perfection, realize today more than ever amid the most exuberant material progress, the insufficiency of earthly goods to produce true happiness either for the individual or for the nations. And hence they feel more keenly in themselves the impulse toward a perfection that is higher, which impulse is implanted in their rational nature by the Creator Himself. This perfection they seek to acquire by means of education. But many of them with, it would seem, too great insistence on the etymological meaning of the word, pretend to draw education out of human nature itself and evolve it by its own unaided powers. Such easily fall into error, because, instead of fixing their gaze on God, first principle and last end of the whole universe, they fall back upon themselves, becoming attached exclusively to passing things of earth; and thus their restlessness will never cease till they direct their attention and their efforts to God, the goal of all perfection, according to the profound saying of Saint Augustine: "Thou didst create us, O Lord, for Thyself, and our heart is restless till it rest in Thee."

NATURE, IMPORTANCE AND EXCELLENCE OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

It is therefore as important to make no mistake in education, as it is to make no mistake in the pursuit of the last end, with which the whole work of education is intimately and necessarily connected. In fact, since education consists essentially in preparing man for what he must be and for what he must do here below, in order to attain the sublime and for which he was created, it is clear that there can be no true education which is not wholly directed to man's last end, and that in the present order of Providence, since God has revealed Himself to us in the Person of His Only Begotten Son, who alone is "the way, the truth and the life," there can be no ideally perfect education which is not Christian education.

From this we see the supreme importance of Christian education, not merely for each individual, but for families and

for the whole of human society, whose perfection comes from the perfection of the elements that compose it. From these same principles, the excellence, we may well call it the unsurpassed excellence, of the work of Christian education becomes manifest and clear; for after all it aims at securing the Supreme Good, that is, God, for the souls of those who are being educated, and the maximum of well-being possible here below for human society. And this it does as efficaciously as man is capable of doing it, namely by cooperating with God in the perfecting of individuals and of society, in as much as education makes upon the soul the first, the most powerful and lasting impression for life, according to the well-known saying of the Wise Man, "A young man according to his way, even when he is old, he will not depart from it." With good reason therefore did St. John Chrysostom say, "What greater work is there than training the mind and forming the habits of the young?"

But nothing discloses to us the supernatural beauty and excellence of the work of Christian education better than the sublime expression of love of our Blessed Lord, identifying Himself with children, "Whosoever shall receive one such child as this in My name, receiveth Me."

Now in order that no mistake be made in this work of utmost importance, and in order to conduct it in the best manner possible with the help of God's grace, it is necessary to have a clear and definite idea of Christian education in its essential aspects, viz., who has the mission to educate, who are the subjects to be educated, what are the necessary accompanying circumstances, what is the end and object proper to Christian education according to God's established order in the economy of His Divine Providence.

TO WHOM DOES EDUCATION BELONG IN GENERAL?

Education is essentially a social and not a mere individual activity. Now there are three necessary societies distinct from one another and yet harmoniously combined by God, into which man is born: two, namely the family and civil society, belong to the natural order; the third, the Church, to the supernatural order.

In the first place comes the family, instituted directly by God for its peculiar purpose, the generation and formation of offspring; for this reason it has priority of nature and therefore of rights over civil society. Nevertheless, the family is an imperfect society, since it has not in itself all the means for its own complete development; whereas civil society is a perfect society, having in itself all the means for its peculiar end, which is the temporal well-being of the community;

and so, in this respect, that is, in view of the common good, it has pre-eminence over the family, which finds its own suitable temporal perfection precisely in civil society.

The third society, into which man is born when through Baptism he receives the divine life of grace, is the Church; a society of the supernatural order and of universal extent; a perfect society, because it has in itself all the means required for its own end, which is the eternal salvation of mankind; hence it is supreme in its own domain.

Consequently, education which is concerned with man as a whole, individually and socially, in the order of nature and in the order of grace, necessarily belongs to all these three societies, in due proportion, corresponding, according to the disposition of divine Providence, to the coordination of their respective ends.

IN PARTICULAR: TO THE CHURCH

And first of all education belongs pre-eminently to the Church, by reason of a double title in the supernatural order, conferred exclusively upon her by God Himself; absolutely superior therefore to any other title in the natural order.

The first title is founded upon the express mission and supreme authority to teach given her by her divine Founder: "All power is given to me in heaven and in earth. Going therefore teach ye all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, and behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world." Upon this magisterial office Christ conferred infallibility, together with the command to teach His doctrine. Hence the Church "was set by her divine Author as the pillar and ground of truth, in order to teach the divine Faith to men, and keep whole and inviolate the deposit confided to her; to direct and fashion men, in all their actions individually and socially, to purity of morals and integrity of life, in accordance with revealed doctrine."

SUPERNATURAL MOTHERHOOD

The second title is the supernatural motherhood, in virtue of which the Church, spotless spouse of Christ, generates, nurtures and educates souls in the divine life of grace, with her sacraments and her doctrine. With good reason then does St. Augustine maintain: "He has not God for father who refuses to have the Church as mother."

Hence it is that in this proper object of her mission, that is, "in faith and morals, God Himself has made the Church sharer in the divine magisterium and, by a special privilege, granted her immunity

from error; hence she is the mistress of men, supreme and absolutely sure, and she has inherent in herself an inviolable right to freedom in teaching." By necessary consequence the Church is independent of any sort of earthly power as well in the origin as in the exercise of her mission as educator, not merely in regard to her proper end and object, but also in regard to the means necessary and suitable to attain that end. Hence with regard to every other kind of human learning and instruction, which is the common patrimony of individuals and society, the Church has an independent right to make use of it, and above all to decide what may help or harm Christian education. And this must be so, because the Church as a perfect society has an independent right to the means conducive to its end, and because every form of instruction, no less than every human action, has a necessary connection with man's last end, and therefore cannot be withdrawn from the dictates of the divine law, of which the Church is guardian, interpreter and infallible mistress.

This truth is clearly set forth by Pius X of saintly memory: "Whatever a Christian does even in the order of things of earth, he may not overlook the supernatural; indeed he must, according to the teaching of Christian wisdom, direct all things toward the supreme good as to his last end; all his actions, besides, in so far as good or evil in the order of morality, that is, in keeping or not with natural and divine law, fall under the judgment and jurisdiction of the Church."

It is worthy of note how a layman, an excellent writer and at the same time a profound and conscientious thinker, has been able to understand well and express exactly this fundamental Catholic doctrine: "The Church does not say that morality belongs purely, in the sense of exclusively, to her; but that it belongs wholly to her. She has never maintained that outside her fold and apart from her teaching, man cannot arrive at any moral truth; she has on the contrary more than once condemned this opinion because it has appeared under more forms than one. She does however say, has said, and will ever say, that because of her institution by Jesus Christ, because of the Holy Ghost sent her in His name by the Father, she alone possesses what she has had immediately from God and can never lose, the whole of moral truth, *omnem veritatem*, in which all individual moral truths are included, as well those which man may learn by the help of reason, as those which form part of revelation or which may be deduced from it."

EXTENT OF THE RIGHTS OF THE CHURCH

Therefore with full right the Church promotes letters, science, art, in so far as necessary or helpful to Christian educa-

tion, in addition to her work for the salvation of souls; founding and maintaining schools and institutions adapted to every branch of learning and degree of culture. Nor may even physical culture, as it is called, be considered outside the range of her maternal supervision, for the reason that it also is a means which may help or harm Christian education.

And this work of the Church in every branch of culture is of immense benefit to families and nations which without Christ are lost, as St. Hilary points out correctly: "What can be more fraught with danger for the world than the rejection of Christ?" Nor does it interfere in the least with the regulations of the State, because the Church in her motherly prudence is not unwilling that her schools and institutions for the education of the laity be in keeping with the legitimate dispositions of civil authority; she is in every way ready to cooperate with this authority and to make provision for a mutual understanding, should difficulties arise.

Again it is the inalienable right as well as the indispensable duty of the Church, to watch over the entire education of her children, in all institutions, public or private, not merely in regard to the religious instruction there given, but in regard to every other branch of learning and every regulation in so far as religion and morality are concerned.

Nor should the exercise of this right be considered undue interference, but rather maternal care on the part of the Church in protecting her children from the grave danger of all kinds of doctrinal and moral evil. Moreover this watchfulness of the Church not merely can create no real inconvenience, but must on the contrary confer valuable assistance in the right ordering and well-being of families and of civil society; for it keeps far away from youth the moral poison which at that inexperienced and changeable age more easily penetrates the mind and more rapidly spreads its baneful effects. For it is true, as Leo XIII has wisely pointed out, that without proper religious and moral instruction "every form of intellectual culture will be injurious; for young people not accustomed to respect God, will be unable to bear the restraint of a virtuous life, and never having learned to deny themselves anything, they will easily be incited to disturb the public order."

The extent of the Church's mission in the field of education is such as to embrace every nation, without exception, according to the command of Christ: "Teach ye all nations"; and there is no power on earth that may lawfully oppose her or stand in her way. In the first place, it extends over all the Faithful, of whom she has anxious care as a tender mother. For these she has throughout the centuries created and conducted an immense num-

ber of schools and institutions in every branch of learning. As we said on a recent occasion: "Right back in the far-off Middle Ages when there were so many (some have even said too many) monasteries, convents, churches, collegiate churches, cathedral chapters, &c., there was attached to each a home of study, of teaching, of Christian education. To these we must add all the universities, spread over every country and always by the initiative and under the protection of the Holy See and the Church. That grand spectacle, which today we see better, as it is nearer to us and more imposing because of the conditions of the age, was the spectacle of all times; and they who study and compare historical events remain astounded at what the Church has been able to do in this matter, and marvel at the manner in which she has succeeded in fulfilling her God-given mission to educate generations of men to a Christian life, producing everywhere a magnificent harvest of fruitful results. But if we wonder that the Church in all times has been able to gather about her and educate hundreds, thousands, millions of students, no less wonderful is it to bear in mind what she has done not only in the field of education, but in that also of true and genuine erudition. For, if so many treasures of culture, civilization and literature have escaped destruction, this is due to the action by which the Church, even in times long past and uncivilized, has shed so bright a light in the domain of letters, of philosophy, of art, and in a special manner of architecture."

All this the Church has been able to do because her mission to educate extends equally to those outside the fold, seeing that all men are called to enter the kingdom of God and reach eternal salvation. Just as today when her Missions scatter schools by the thousand in districts and countries not yet Christian, from the banks of the Ganges to the Yellow River and the great islands and archipelagos of the Pacific Ocean, from the Dark Continent to the Land of Fire and to frozen Alaska, so in every age the Church by her missionaries has educated to Christian life and to civilization the various peoples which now constitute the Christian nations of the civilized world.

Hence it is evident that both by right and in fact the mission to educate belongs pre-eminently to the Church, and that no one free from prejudice can have a reasonable motive for opposing or impeding the Church in this her work, of which the world today enjoys the precious advantages.

HARMONY BETWEEN THE RIGHTS OF THE CHURCH AND THOSE OF THE FAMILY AND THE STATE

This is the more true because the rights

of the family and of the State, even the rights of individuals regarding a just liberty in the pursuit of science, of methods of science and all sorts of profane culture, not only are not opposed to this pre-eminence of the Church, but are in complete harmony with it. The fundamental reason for this harmony is that the supernatural order, to which the Church owes her rights, not only does not in the least destroy the natural order, to which pertain the other rights mentioned, but elevates the natural and perfects it, each affording mutual aid to the other, and completing it in a manner proportioned to its respective nature and dignity. The reason is because both come from God, who cannot contradict Himself: "The works of God are perfect and all His ways are judgments."

This becomes clearer when we consider more closely and in detail the mission of education proper to the family and to the State.

TO THE FAMILY

In the first place the Church's mission of education is in wonderful agreement with that of the family, for both proceed from God, and in a remarkably similar manner. God directly communicates to the family, in the natural order, fecundity, which is the principle of life, and hence also the principle of education to life, together with authority, the principle of order.

The Angelic Doctor with his wonted clearness of thought and precision of style, says: "The father according to the flesh has in a particular way a share in that principle which in a manner universal is found in God. * * * The father is the principle of generation, of education and discipline and of everything that bears upon the perfecting of human life."

The family therefore holds directly from the Creator the mission and hence the right to educate the offspring, a right inalienable because inseparably joined to the strict obligation, a right anterior to any right whatever of civil society and of the State, and therefore inviolable on the part of any power on earth.

That this right is inviolable St. Thomas proves as follows: "The child is naturally something of the father * * * so by natural right the child, before reaching the use of reason, is under the father's care. Hence it would be contrary to natural justice if the child, before the use of reason, were removed from the care of its parents, or if any disposition were made concerning him against the will of the parents." And as this duty on the part of the parents continues up to the time when the child is in a position to provide for itself, this same inviolable parental right of education also endures. "Nature intends not merely the generation of the offspring, but also

its development and advance to the perfection of man considered as man, that is, to the state of virtue," says the same St. Thomas.

The wisdom of the Church in this matter is expressed with precision and clearness in the Codex of Canon Law, canon 1113: "Parents are under a grave obligation to see to the religious and moral education of their children, as well as to their physical and civic training, as far as they can, and moreover to provide for their temporal well-being."

On this point the common sense of mankind is in such complete accord, that they would be in open contradiction with it who dared maintain that the children belong to the State before they belong to the family, and that the State has an absolute right over their education. Untenable is the reason they adduce, namely that man is born a citizen and hence belongs primarily to the State, not bearing in mind that before being a citizen man must exist; and existence does not come from the State, but from the parents, as Leo XIII wisely declared: "The children are something of the father, and as it were an extension of the person of the father; and, to be perfectly accurate, they enter into and become part of civil society, not directly by themselves, but through the family in which they were born." "And therefore," says the same Leo XIII, "the fathers' power is of such a nature that it cannot be destroyed or absorbed by the State; for it has the same origin as human life itself."

It does not however follow from this that the parents' right to educate their children is absolute and despotic; for it is necessarily subordinated to the last end and to natural and divine law, as Leo XIII declares in another memorable encyclical, where he thus sums up the rights and duties of parents: "By nature parents have a right to the training of their children, but with this added duty that the education and instruction of the child be in accord with the end for which by God's blessing it was begotten. Therefore it is the duty of parents to make every effort to prevent any invasion of their rights in this matter, and to make absolutely sure that the education of their children remain under their own control in keeping with their Christian duty, and above all to refuse to send them to those schools in which there is danger of imbibing the deadly poison of impiety."

It must be borne in mind also that the obligation of the family to bring up children, includes not only religious and moral education, but physical and civic education as well, principally in so far as it touches upon religion and morality.

This incontestable right of the family has at various times been recognized by nations anxious to respect the natural law in their civil enactments. Thus, to give

one recent example, the Supreme Court of the United States of North America, in a decision on an important controversy, declared that it is not in the competence of the State to fix any uniform standard of education by forcing children to receive instruction exclusively in public schools, and it bases its decision on the natural law; the child is not the mere creature of the State; those who nurture him and direct his destiny have the right, coupled with the high duty, to educate him and prepare him for the fulfillment of his obligations.

TUTELAGE OF THE CHURCH

History bears witness how, particularly in modern times, the State has violated and does violate rights conferred by God on the family. At the same time it shows magnificently how the Church has ever protected and defended these rights, a fact proved by the special confidence which parents have in Catholic schools. As We pointed out recently in Our letter to the Cardinal Secretary of State: "The family has instinctively understood this to be so, and from the earliest days of Christianity down to our own times, fathers and mothers, even those of little or no faith, have been sending or bringing their children in millions to places of education under the direction of the Church."

It is paternal instinct, given by God, that thus turns with confidence to the Church, certain of finding in her the protection of family rights, thereby illustrating that harmony with which God has ordered all things. The Church is indeed conscious of her divine mission to all mankind, and of the obligation which all men have to practise the one true religion; and therefore she never tires of defending her right, and of reminding parents of their duty, to have all Catholic-born children baptized and brought up as Christians. On the other hand so jealous is she of the family's inviolable natural right to educate the children, that she never consents, save under peculiar circumstances and with special cautions, to baptize the children of infidels, or provide for their education against the will of the parents, till such time as the children can choose for themselves and freely embrace the Faith.

We have therefore two facts of supreme importance, as We said in our discourse cited above: The Church placing at the disposal of families her office of mistress and educator, and the families eager to profit by the offer, and entrusting their children to the Church in hundreds and thousands. These two facts recall and proclaim a striking truth of the greatest significance in the moral and social order. They declare that the mission of education regards before all, above all, primarily the Church and the family, and this by natural and divine law, and that therefore it

cannot be slighted, cannot be evaded, cannot be supplanted.

TO THE STATE

From such priority of rights on the part of the Church and of the family in the field of education, most important advantages, as we have seen, accrue to the whole of society. Moreover in accordance with the divinely established order of things, no damage can follow from it to the true and just rights of the State in regard to the education of its citizens.

These rights have been conferred upon civil society by the Author of nature Himself; not by title of fatherhood, as in the case of the Church and of the family, but in virtue of the authority which it possesses to promote the common temporal welfare, which is precisely the purpose of its existence. Consequently education cannot pertain to civil society in the same way in which it pertains to the Church and to the family, but in a different way corresponding to its own particular end and object.

Now this end and object, the common welfare in the temporal order, consists in that peace and security in which families and individual citizens have the free exercise of their rights, and at the same time enjoy the greatest spiritual and temporal prosperity possible in this life, by the mutual union and coordination of the work of all. The function therefore of the civil authority residing in the State is twofold, to protect and to foster, but by no means to absorb the family and the individual, or to substitute itself for them.

Accordingly in the matter of education, it is the right, or to speak more correctly, it is the duty of the State to protect in its legislation the prior rights, already described, of the family as regards the Christian education of its offspring, and consequently also to respect the supernatural rights of the Church in this same realm of Christian education.

It also belongs to the State to protect the rights of the child itself when the parents are found wanting either physically or morally in this respect, whether by default, incapacity or misconduct, since, as has been shown, their right to educate is not an absolute and despotic one, but dependent on the natural and divine law, and therefore subject alike to the authority and jurisdiction of the Church, and to the vigilance and administrative care of the State in view of the common good. Besides, the family is not a perfect society, that is, it has not in itself all the means necessary for its full development. In such cases, exceptional no doubt, the State does not put itself in the place of the family, but merely supplies deficiencies, and provides suitable means, always in conformity with the natural rights of the child and the supernatural rights of the Church.

In general then it is the right and duty of the State to protect, according to the rules of right reason and faith, the moral and religious education of youth, by removing public impediments that stand in the way.

In the first place it pertains to the State, in view of the common good, to promote in various ways the education and instruction of youth. It should begin by encouraging and assisting, of its own accord, the initiative and activity of the Church and the family, whose successes in this field have been clearly demonstrated by history and experience. It should moreover supplement their work whenever this falls short of what is necessary, even by means of its own schools and institutions. For the State more than any other society is provided with the means put at its disposal for the needs of all, and it is only right that it use these means to the advantage of those who have contributed them.

Over and above this, the State can exact, and take measures to secure that all its citizens have the necessary knowledge of their civic and political duties, and a certain degree of physical, intellectual and moral culture, which, considering the conditions of our times, is really necessary for the common good.

However it is clear that in all these ways of promoting education and instruction, both public and private, the State should respect the inherent rights of the Church and of the family concerning Christian education, and moreover have regard for distributive justice. Accordingly, unjust and unlawful is any monopoly, educational or scholastic, which, physically or morally, forces families to make use of government schools, contrary to the dictates of their Christian conscience, or contrary even to their legitimate preferences.

This does not prevent the State from making due provision for the right administration of public affairs and for the protection of its peace, within or without the realm. These are things which directly concern the public good and call for special aptitudes and special preparation. The State may therefore reserve to itself the establishment and direction of schools intended to prepare for certain civic duties and especially for military service, provided it be careful not to injure the rights of the Church or of the family in what pertains to them. It is well to repeat this warning here; for in these days there is spreading a spirit of nationalism which is false and exaggerated, as well as dangerous to true peace and prosperity. Under its influence various excesses are committed in giving a military turn to the so-called physical training of boys (sometimes even of girls, contrary to the very instincts of human nature); or again

in usurping unreasonably on Sunday, the time which should be devoted to religious duties and to family life at home. It is not our intention however to condemn what is good in the spirit of discipline and legitimate bravery promoted by these methods; We condemn only what is excessive, as for example violence, which must not be confounded with courage nor with the noble sentiment of military valor in defence of country and public order; or again exaltation of athleticism which even in classic pagan times marked the decline and downfall of genuine physical training.

In general also it belongs to civil society and the State to provide what may be called civic education, not only for its youth, but for all ages and classes. This consists in the practice of presenting publicly to groups of individuals information having an intellectual, imaginative and emotional appeal, calculated to draw their wills to what is upright and honest, and to urge its practice by a sort of moral compulsion, positively by disseminating such knowledge, and negatively by suppressing what is opposed to it. This civic education, so wide and varied in itself as to include almost every activity of the State intended for the public good, ought also to be regulated by the norms of rectitude, and therefore cannot conflict with the doctrines of the Church, which is the divinely appointed teacher of these norms.

RELATION BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE

All that we have said so far regarding the activity of the State in educational matters, rests on the solid and immovable foundation of the Catholic doctrine of *The Christian Constitution of States* set forth in such masterly fashion by Our Predecessor Leo XIII, notably in the Encyclicals *Immortale Dei* and *Sapientiae Christianae*. He writes as follows: "God has divided the government of the human race between two authorities, ecclesiastical and civil, establishing one over things divine, the other over things human. Both are supreme, each in its own domain; each has its own fixed boundaries which limit its activities. These boundaries are determined by the peculiar nature and the proximate end of each, and describe as it were a sphere within which, with exclusive right, each may develop its influence. As however the same subjects are under the two authorities, it may happen that the same matter, though from a different point of view, may come under the competence and jurisdiction of each of them. It follows that divine Providence, whence both authorities have their origin, must have traced with due order the proper line of action for each. The powers that are, are ordained of God."

Now the education of youth is precisely one of those matters that belong both to

the Church and to the State, "though in different ways," as explained above. "Therefore," continues Leo XII, "between the two powers there must reign a well ordered harmony. Not without reason may this mutual agreement be compared to the union of body and soul in man. Its nature and extent can only be determined by considering, as we have said, the nature of each of the two powers, and in particular the excellence and nobility of the respective ends. To one is committed directly and specifically the charge of what is helpful in worldly matters; while the other is to concern itself with the things that pertain to heaven and eternity. Everything therefore in human affairs that is in any way sacred, or has reference to the salvation of souls and the worship of God, whether by its nature or by its end, is subject to the jurisdiction and discipline of the Church. Whatever else is comprised in the civil and political order, rightly comes under the authority of the State; for Christ commanded us to give to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's."

Whoever refuses to admit these principles, and hence to apply them to education, must necessarily deny that Christ has founded His Church for the eternal salvation of mankind, and maintain instead that civil society and the State are not subject to God and to His law, natural and divine. Such a doctrine is manifestly impious, contrary to right reason, and, especially in this matter of education, extremely harmful to the proper training of youth, and disastrous as well for civil society as for the well-being of all mankind. On the other hand from the application of these principles, there inevitably result immense advantages for the right formation of citizens. This is abundantly proved by the history of every age. Tertullian in his *Apologeticus* could throw down a challenge to the enemies of the Church in the early days of Christianity, just as St. Augustine did in his; and we today can repeat with him, "Let those who declare the teaching of Christ to be opposed to the welfare of the State, furnish us with an army of soldiers such as Christ says soldiers ought to be; let them give us subjects, husbands, wives, parents, children, masters, servants, kings, judges, taxpayers and taxgatherers who live up to the teachings of Christ; and then let them dare assert that Christian doctrine is harmful to the State. Rather let them not hesitate one moment to acclaim that doctrine, rightly observed, the greatest safeguard of the State."

While treating of education, it is not out of place to show here how an ecclesiastical writer, who flourished in more recent times, during the Renaissance, the holy and learned Cardinal Silvio Antoniano, to whom the cause of Christian education is greatly indebted, has set forth most clearly

this well established point of Catholic doctrine. He had been a disciple of that wonderful educator of youth, St. Philip Neri; he was teacher and Latin secretary to St. Charles Borromeo, and it was at the latter's suggestion and under his inspiration that he wrote his splendid treatise on *The Christian Education of Youth*. In it he argues as follows:

NECESSITY AND ADVANTAGES OF MUTUAL
AGREEMENT

"The more closely the temporal power of a nation aligns itself with the spiritual, and the more it fosters and promotes the latter, by so much the more it contributes to the conservation of the commonwealth. For it is the aim of the ecclesiastical authority by the use of spiritual means, to form good Christians in accordance with its own particular end and object; and in doing this it helps at the same time to form good citizens, and prepares them to meet their obligations as members of a civil society. This follows of necessity because in the City of God, the Holy Roman Catholic Church, a good citizen and an upright man are absolutely one and the same thing. How grave therefore is the error of those who separate things so closely united, and who think that they can produce good citizens by ways and methods other than those which make for the formation of good Christians. For, let human prudence say what it likes and reason as it pleases, it is impossible to produce true temporal peace and tranquillity by things repugnant or opposed to the peace and happiness of eternity."

What is true of the State, is true also of science, scientific methods and scientific research; they have nothing to fear from the full and perfect mandate which the Church holds in the field of education. Our Catholic institutions, whatever their grade in the educational and scientific world, have no need of apology. The esteem they enjoy, the praise they receive, the learned works which they promote and produce in such abundance, and above all, the men, fully and splendidly equipped, whom they provide for the magistracy, for the professions, for the teaching career, in fact for every walk of life, more than sufficiently testify in their favor.

These facts moreover present a most striking confirmation of the Catholic doctrine defined by the Vatican Council: "Not only is it impossible for faith and reason to be at variance with each other, they are on the contrary of mutual help. For while right reason establishes the foundations of Faith, and, by the help of its light, develops a knowledge of the things of God, Faith on the other hand frees and preserves reason from error and enriches it with varied knowledge. The Church therefore, far from hindering the pursuit of the arts and sciences, fosters and pro-

motes them in many ways. For she is neither ignorant nor unappreciative of the many advantages which flow from them to mankind. On the contrary she admits that just as they come from God, Lord of all knowledge, so too if rightly used, with the help of His grace they lead to God. Nor does she prevent the sciences, each in its own sphere, from making use of principles and methods of their own. Only while acknowledging the freedom due to them, she takes every precaution to prevent them from falling into error by opposition to divine doctrine, or from overstepping their proper limits, and thus invading and disturbing the domain of Faith."

This norm of a just freedom in things scientific, serves also as an inviolable norm of a just freedom in things didactic, or for rightly understood liberty in teaching; it should be observed therefore in whatever instruction is imparted to others. Its obligation is all the more binding in justice when there is question of instructing youth. For in this work the teacher, whether public or private, has no absolute right of his own, but only such as has been communicated to him by others. Besides every Christian child or youth has a strict right to instruction in harmony with the teaching of the Church, the pillar and ground of truth. And whoever disturbs the pupil's Faith in any way, does him grave wrong, inasmuch as he abuses the trust which children place in their teachers, and takes unfair advantage of their inexperience and of their natural craving for unrestrained liberty, at once illusory and false.

SUBJECT OF EDUCATION

In fact it must never be forgotten that the subject of Christian education is man whole and entire, soul united to body in unity of nature, with all his faculties natural and supernatural, such as right reason and revelation show him to be; man, therefore, fallen from his original estate, but redeemed by Christ and restored to the supernatural condition of adopted son of God, though without the preternatural privileges of bodily immortality or perfect control of appetite. There remain therefore, in human nature the effects of original sin, the chief of which are weakness of will and disorderly inclinations.

"Folly is bound up in the heart of a child and the rod of correction shall drive it away." Disorderly inclinations then must be corrected, good tendencies encouraged and regulated from tender childhood, and above all the mind must be enlightened and the will strengthened by supernatural truth and by the means of grace, without which it is impossible to control evil impulses, impossible to attain to the full and complete perfection of education intended by the Church, which Christ has endowed so richly with divine doctrine and

with the Sacraments, the efficacious means of grace.

NATURALISM IN EDUCATION FALSE AND DAMAGING

Hence every form of pedagogic naturalism which in any way excludes or weakens supernatural Christian formation in the teaching of youth, is false. Every method of education founded, wholly or in part, on the denial or forgetfulness of original sin and of grace, and relying on the sole powers of human nature, is unsound. Such, generally speaking, are those modern systems bearing various names which appeal to a pretended self-government and unrestrained freedom on the part of the child, and which diminish or even suppress the teacher's authority and action, attributing to the child an exclusive primacy of initiative, and an activity independent of any higher law, natural or divine, in the work of his education.

If any of these terms are used, less properly to denote the necessity of a gradually more active cooperation on the part of the pupil in his own education; if the intention is to banish from education despotism and violence, which, by the way, just punishment is not, this would be correct, but in no way new. It would mean only what has been taught and reduced to practice by the Church in traditional Christian education, in imitation of the method employed by God Himself towards His creatures, of whom He demands active co-operation according to the nature of each; for His Wisdom "reacheth from end to end mightily and ordereth all things sweetly."

But alas! It is clear from the obvious meaning of the words and from experience, that what is intended by not a few, is the withdrawal of education from every sort of dependence on the divine law. So today we see, strange sight indeed, educators and philosophers who spend their lives in searching for a universal moral code of education, as if there existed no decalogue, no gospel law, no law even of nature stamped by God on the heart of man, promulgated by right reason, and codified in positive revelation by God Himself in the ten commandments. These innovators are wont to refer contemptuously to Christian education as "heteronomous," "passive," "obsolete," because founded upon the authority of God and His holy law.

Such men are miserably deluded in their claim to emancipate, as they say, the child, while in reality they are making him the slave of his own blind pride and of his disorderly affections, which, as a logical consequence of this false system, come to be justified as legitimate demands of a so-called autonomous nature.

But what is worse is the claim, not only vain but false, irreverent and dangerous,

to submit to research, experiment and conclusions of a purely natural and profane order, those matters of education which belong to the supernatural order; as for example questions of priestly or religious vocation, and in general the secret workings of grace which indeed elevate the natural powers, but are infinitely superior to them, and may nowise be subjected to physical laws, for "the Spirit treadeth where He will."

SEX-INSTRUCTION

Another very grave danger is that naturalism which nowadays invades the field of education in that most delicate matter of purity of morals. Far too common is the error of those who with dangerous assurance and under an ugly term propagate a so-called sex-education, falsely imagining they can forearm youths against the dangers of sensuality by means purely natural, such as a foolhardy initiation and precautionary instruction for all indiscriminately, even in public; and, worse still, by exposing them at an early age to the occasions, in order to accustom them, so it is argued, and as it were to harden them against such dangers.

Such persons grievously err in refusing to recognize the inborn weakness of human nature, and the law of which the Apostle speaks, fighting against the law of the mind; and also in ignoring the experience of facts, from which it is clear that, particularly in young people, evil practices are the effect not so much of ignorance of intellect as of weakness of a will exposed to dangerous occasions, and unsupported by the means of grace.

In this extremely delicate matter, if, all things considered, some private instruction is found necessary and opportune, from those who hold from God the commission to teach and who have the grace of state, every precaution must be taken. Such precautions are well known in traditional Christian education, and are adequately described by Antoniano cited above, when he says:

"Such is our misery and inclination to sin, that often in the very things considered to be remedies against sin, we find occasions for and inducements to sin itself. Hence it is of the highest importance that a good father, while discussing with his son a matter so delicate, should be well on his guard and not descend to details, nor refer to the various ways in which this infernal hydra destroys with its poison so large a portion of the world; otherwise it may happen that instead of extinguishing this fire, he unwittingly stirs or kindles it in the simple and tender heart of the child. Speaking generally, during the period of childhood it suffices to employ those remedies which produce the double effect of opening the door to the virtue of purity and closing the door upon vice."

CO-EDUCATION

False also and harmful to Christian education is the so-called method of "co-education." This too, by many of its supporters, is founded upon naturalism and the denial of original sin; but by all, upon a deplorable confusion of ideas that mistakes a levelling promiscuity and equality, for the legitimate association of the sexes. The Creator has ordained and disposed perfect union of the sexes only in matrimony, and, with varying degrees of contact, in the family and in society. Besides there is not in nature itself, which fashions the two quite different in organism, in temperament, in abilities, anything to suggest that there can be or ought to be promiscuity, and much less equality, in the training of the two sexes. These in keeping with the wonderful designs of the Creator are destined to complement each other in the family and in society, precisely because of their differences, which therefore ought to be maintained and encouraged during their years of formation, with the necessary distinction and corresponding separation, according to age and circumstances. These principles, with due regard to time and place, must, in accordance with Christian prudence, be applied to all schools, particularly in the most delicate and decisive period of formation, that, namely, of adolescence; and in gymnastic exercises and deportment, special care must be had of Christian modesty in young women and girls, which is so gravely impaired by any kind of exhibition in public.

Recalling the terrible words of the divine Master: "Woe to the world because of scandals!" We most earnestly appeal to your solicitude and your watchfulness, Venerable Brethren, against these pernicious errors, which, to the immense harm of youth, are spreading far and wide among Christian people.

In order to obtain perfect education, it is of the utmost importance to see that all those conditions which surround the child during the period of his formation, in other words that the combination of circumstances which we call environment, correspond exactly to the end proposed.

The first natural and necessary element in this environment, as regards education, is the family, and this precisely because so ordained by the Creator Himself. Accordingly that education, as a rule, will be more effective and lasting which is received in a well-ordered and well-disciplined Christian family; and more efficacious in proportion to the clear and constant good example set, first by the parents, and then by the other members of the household.

It is not our intention to treat formally the question of domestic education, nor even to touch upon its principle points.

The subject is too vast. Besides there are not lacking special treatises on this topic by authors, both ancient and modern, well known for their solid Catholic doctrine. One which seems deserving of special mention is the golden treatise already referred to, of Antoniano, *On the Christian Education of Youth*, which St. Charles Borromeo ordered to be read in public to parents assembled in their churches.

Nevertheless, Venerable Brethren and beloved children, We wish to call your attention in a special manner to the present-day lamentable decline in family education. The offices and professions of a transitory and earthly life, which are certainly of far less importance, are prepared for by long and careful study; whereas for the fundamental duty and obligation of educating their children, many parents have little or no preparation, immersed as they are in temporal cares. The declining influence of domestic environment is further weakened by another tendency, prevalent almost everywhere today, which, under one pretext or another, for economic reasons, or for reasons of industry, trade or politics, causes children to be more and more frequently sent away from home even in their tenderest years. And there is a country where the children are actually being torn from the bosom of the family, to be formed (or, to speak more accurately, to be deformed and depraved), in godless schools and associations, to irreligion and hatred, according to the theories of advanced socialism; and thus is renewed in a real and more terrible manner the slaughter of the Innocents.

For the love of Our Saviour Jesus Christ, therefore, we implore pastors of souls, by every means in their power, by instructions and catechisms, by word of mouth and written articles widely distributed, to warn Christian parents of their grave obligations. And this should be done not in a merely theoretical and general way, but with practical and specific application to the various responsibilities of parents touching the religious, moral and civil training of their children, and with indication of the methods best adapted to make their training effective, supposing always the influence of their own exemplary lives. The Apostle of the Gentiles did not hesitate to descend to such details of practical instruction in his epistles, especially in the Epistle to the Ephesians, where among other things he gives this advice: "And you, fathers, provoke not your children to anger." This fault is the result not so much of excessive severity, as of impatience and of ignorance of means best calculated to effect a desired correction; it is also due to the all too common relaxation of parental discipline which fails to check the growth of evil passions in the hearts of the younger generation. Parents therefore, and all who take their

place in the work of education, should be careful to make right use of the authority given them by God, whose vicars in a true sense they are. This authority is not given for their own advantage, but for the proper up-bringing of their children in a holy and filial "fear of God, the beginning of wisdom," on which foundation alone all respect for authority can rest securely; and without which, order, tranquillity and prosperity, whether in the family or in society will be impossible.

THE CHURCH AND HER EDUCATIONAL WORKS

To meet the weakness of man's fallen nature, God in His Goodness has provided the abundant helps of His Grace and the countless means with which He has endowed the Church, the great family of Christ. The Church therefore is the educational environment most intimately and harmoniously associated with the Christian family.

This educational environment of the Church embraces the Sacraments, divinely efficacious means of grace, the sacred ritual, so wonderfully instructive, and the material fabric of her churches, whose liturgy and art have an immense educational value; but it also includes the great number and variety of schools, associations and institutions of all kinds, established for the training of youth in Christian piety, together with literature and the sciences, not omitting recreation and physical culture. And in this inexhaustible fecundity of educational works, how marvellous, how incomparable is the Church's maternal providence! So admirable too is the harmony which she maintains with the Christian family, that the Church and the family may be said to constitute together one and the same temple of Christian education.

THE SCHOOL

Since however the younger generations must be trained in the arts and sciences for the advantage and prosperity of civil society, and since the family of itself is unequal to this task, it was necessary to create that social institution, the school. But let it be borne in mind that this institution owes its existence to the initiative of the family and of the Church, long before it was undertaken by the State. Hence considered in its historical origin, the school is by its very nature an institution subsidiary and complementary to the family and to the Church. It follows logically and necessarily that it must not be in opposition to, but in positive accord with those other two elements, and form with them a perfect moral union, constituting one sanctuary of education, as it were, with the family and the Church. Otherwise it is doomed to fail of its purpose, and to become instead an agent of destruction.

This principle we find recognized by a layman, famous for his pedagogical writings, though these because of their liberalism cannot be unreservedly praised. "The school," he writes, "if not a temple, is a den." And again: "When literary, social, domestic and religious education do not go hand in hand, man is unhappy and helpless."

From this it follows that the so-called "neutral" or "lay" school, from which religion is excluded, is contrary to the fundamental principles of education. Such a school moreover cannot exist in practice; it is bound to become irreligious. There is no need to repeat what Our Predecessors have declared on this point, especially Pius IX and Leo XIII, at times when laicism was beginning in a special manner to infest the public school. We renew and confirm their declarations, as well as the Sacred Canons in which the frequenting of non-Catholic schools, whether neutral or mixed, namely those which are open to Catholics and non-Catholic alike, is forbidden for Catholic children, and can be at most tolerated, on the approval of the Ordinary alone, under determined circumstances of place and time, and with special precautions. Neither can Catholics admit that other type of mixed school, (least of all the so-called "école unique," obligatory on all), in which the students are provided with separate religious instruction, but receive other lessons in common with non-Catholic pupils from non-Catholic teachers.

For the mere fact that a school gives some religious instruction (often extremely stinted), does not bring it into accord with the rights of the Church and of the Christian family, or make it a fit place for Catholic students. To be this, it is necessary that all the teaching and the whole organization of the school, and its teachers, syllabus and text-books in every branch, be regulated by the Christian spirit, under the direction and maternal supervision of the Church; so that Religion may be in very truth the foundation and crown of the youth's entire training; and this in every grade of school, not only the elementary, but the intermediate and the higher institutions of learning as well. To use the words of Leo XIII: "It is necessary not only that religious instruction be given to the young at certain fixed times, but also that every other subject taught, be permeated with Christian piety. If this is wanting, if this sacred atmosphere does not pervade and warm the hearts of masters and scholars alike, little good can be expected from any kind of learning, and considerable harm will often be the consequence."

And let no one say that in a nation where there are different religious beliefs, it is impossible to provide for public in-

struction otherwise than by neutral or mixed schools. In such a case it becomes the duty of the State, indeed it is the easier and more reasonable method of procedure, to leave free scope to the initiative of the Church and the family, while giving them such assistance as justice demands. That this can be done to the full satisfaction of families, and to the advantage of education and of public peace and tranquillity, is clear from the actual experience of some countries comprising different religious denominations. There the school legislation respects the rights of the family, and Catholics are free to follow their own system of teaching in schools that are entirely Catholic. Nor is distributive justice lost sight of, as is evidenced by the financial aid granted by the State to the several schools demanded by the families.

In other countries of mixed creeds, things are otherwise, and a heavy burden weighs upon Catholics, who under the guidance of their Bishops and with the indefatigable co-operation of the clergy, secular and regular, support Catholic schools for their children entirely at their own expense; to this they feel obliged in conscience, and with a generosity and constancy worthy of all praise, they are firmly determined to make adequate provision for what they openly profess as their motto: "Catholic education in Catholic schools for all the Catholic youth." If such education is not aided from public funds, as distributive justice requires, certainly it may not be opposed by any civil authority ready to recognize the rights of the family, and the irreducible claims of legitimate liberty.

Where this fundamental liberty is thwarted or interfered with, Catholics will never feel, whatever may have been the sacrifices already made, that they have done enough, for the support and defence of their schools and for the securing of laws that will do them justice.

CATHOLIC ACTION THROUGH THE SCHOOL

For whatever Catholics do in promoting and defending the Catholic school for their children, is a genuinely religious work and therefore an important task of "Catholic Action." For this reason the associations which in various countries are so zealously engaged in this work of prime necessity, are especially dear to Our paternal heart and are deserving of every commendation.

Let it be loudly proclaimed and well understood and recognized by all, that Catholics, no matter what their nationality, in agitating for Catholic schools for their children, are not mixing in party politics, but are engaged in a religious enterprise demanded by conscience. They do not intend to separate their children either from the body of the nation or its

spirit, but to educate them in a perfect manner, most conducive to the prosperity of the nation. Indeed a good Catholic, precisely because of his Catholic principles, makes the better citizen, attached to his country, and loyally submissive to constituted civil authority in every legitimate form of government.

In such a school, in harmony with the Church and the Christian family, the various branches of secular learning will not enter into conflict with religious instruction to the manifest detriment of education. And if, when occasion arises, it be deemed necessary to have the students read authors propounding false doctrine, for the purpose of refuting it, this will be done after due preparation and with such an antidote of sound doctrine, that it will not only do no harm, but will be an aid to the Christian formation of youth.

In such a school moreover, the study of the vernacular and of classical literature will do no damage to moral virtue. There the Christian teacher will imitate the bee, which takes the choicest part of the flower and leaves the rest, as St. Basil teaches in his discourse to youths on the study of the classics. Nor will this necessary caution, suggested also by the pagan Quintilian, in any way hinder the Christian teacher from gathering and turning to profit, whatever there is of real worth in the systems and methods of our modern times, mindful of the Apostle's advice: "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good." Hence in accepting the new, he will not hastily abandon the old, which the experience of centuries has found expedient and profitable. This is particularly true in the teaching of Latin, which in our days is falling more and more into disuse, because of the unreasonable rejection of methods so successfully used by that sane humanism, whose highest development was reached in the schools of the Church. These noble traditions of the past require that the youth committed to Catholic schools be fully instructed in the letters and sciences in accordance with the exigencies of the times. They also demand that the doctrine imparted be deep and solid, especially in sound philosophy, avoiding the muddled superficiality of those "who perhaps would have found the necessary, had they not gone in search of the superfluous." In this connection Christian teachers should keep in mind what Leo XIII says in a pithy sentence: "Greater stress must be laid on the employment of apt and solid methods of teaching, and, what is still more important, on bringing into full conformity with the Catholic faith, what is taught in literature, in the sciences, and above all in philosophy, on which depends in great part the right orientation of the other branches of knowledge."

GOOD TEACHERS

Perfect schools are the result not so much of good methods as of good teachers, teachers who are thoroughly prepared and well-grounded in the matter they have to teach; who possess the intellectual and moral qualifications required by their important office; who cherish a pure and holy love for the youths confided to them, because they love Jesus Christ and His Church, of which these are the children of predilection; and who have therefore sincerely at heart the true good of family and country. Indeed it fills Our soul with consolation and gratitude towards the divine Goodness to see, side by side with religious men and women engaged in teaching, such a large number of excellent lay teachers, who, for their greater spiritual advancement, are often grouped in special sodalities and associations, which are worthy of praise and encouragement as most excellent and powerful auxiliaries of "Catholic Action." All these labor unselfishly with zeal and perseverance in what St. Gregory Nazianzen calls "the art of arts and the science of sciences," the direction and formation of youth. Of them also it may be said in the words of the divine Master: "The harvest indeed is great, but the laborers few." Let us then pray the Lord of the harvest to send more such workers into the field of Christian education; and let their formation be one of the principal concerns of the pastors of souls and of the superiors of Religious Orders.

It is no less necessary to direct and watch the education of the adolescent, "soft as wax to be moulded into vice," in whatever other environment he may happen to be, removing occasions of evil and providing occasions for good in his recreations and social intercourse; for "evil communications corrupt good manners."

THE WORLD AND ITS DANGERS

More than ever nowadays an extended and careful vigilance is necessary, inasmuch as the dangers of moral and religious shipwreck are greater for inexperienced youth. Especially is this true of impious and immoral books, often diabolically circulated at low prices; of the cinema, which multiplies every kind of exhibition; and now also of the radio, which facilitates every kind of reading. These most powerful means of publicity, which can be of great utility for instruction and education when directed by sound principles, are only too often used as an incentive to evil passions and greed for gain. St. Augustine deplored the passions for the shows of the circus which possessed even some Christians of his time, and he dramatically narrates the infatuation for them, fortunately only temporary, of his disciple and friend Alipius. How often today must parents and

educators bewail the corruption of youth brought about by the modern theatre and the vile book!

Worthy of all praise and encouragement therefore are those educational associations which have for their object to point out to parents and educators, by means of suitable books and periodicals, the dangers to morals and religion that are often cunningly disguised in books and theatrical representations. In their spirit of zeal for the souls of the young, they endeavour at the same time to circulate good literature and to promote plays that are really instructive, going so far as to put up at the cost of great sacrifices, theatres and cinemas in which virtue will have nothing to suffer and much to gain.

This necessary vigilance does not demand that young people be removed from the society in which they must live and save their souls; but that today more than ever they should be forewarned and forearmed as Christians against the seductions and the errors of the world, which, as Holy Writ admonishes us, is all "concupiscence of the flesh, concupiscence of the eyes and pride of life." Let them be what Tertullian wrote of the first Christians, and what Christians of all times ought to be, "sharers in the possession of the world, not of its error."

This saying of Tertullian brings us to the topic which we propose to treat in the last place, and which is of the greatest importance, that is, the true nature of Christian education, as deduced from its proper end. Its consideration reveals with noontday clearness the pre-eminent educational mission of the Church.

The proper and immediate end of Christian education is to cooperate with divine grace in forming the true and perfect Christian, that is, to form Christ Himself in those regenerated by Baptism, according to the emphatic expression of the Apostle: "My little children, of whom I am in labor again, until Christ be formed in you." For the true Christian must live a supernatural life in Christ: "Christ who is your life," and display it in all his actions: "That the life also of Jesus may be made manifest in our mortal flesh."

TO FORM THE TRUE CHRISTIAN

For precisely this reason, Christian education takes in the whole aggregate of human life, physical and spiritual, intellectual and moral, individual, domestic and social, not with a view of reducing it in any way, but in order to elevate, regulate and perfect it, in accordance with the example and teaching of Christ.

Hence the true Christian, product of Christian education, is the supernatural man who thinks, judges and acts constantly and consistently in accordance with right reason illumined by the supernatural light of the example and teaching of Christ; in other words, to use the current term, the true and finished man of character. For, it is not every kind of consistency and firmness of conduct based on subjective principles that makes true character, but only constancy in following the eternal principles of justice, as is admitted even by the pagan poet when he praises

as one and the same "the man who is just and firm of purpose." And on the other hand, there cannot be full justice except in giving to God what is due to God, as the true Christian does.

The scope and aim of Christian education as here described, appears to the worldly as an abstraction, or rather as something that cannot be attained without the suppression or dwarfing of the natural faculties, and without a renunciation of the activities of the present life, and hence inimical to social life and temporal prosperity, and contrary to all progress in letters, arts and sciences, and all the other elements of civilization. To a like objection raised by the ignorance and the prejudice of even cultured pagans of a former day, and repeated with greater frequency and insistence in modern times, Tertullian has replied as follows: "We are not strangers to life. We are fully aware of the gratitude we owe to God, our Lord and Creator. We reject none of the fruits of His handiwork; we only abstain from their immoderate or unlawful use. We are living in the world with you; we do not shun your forum, your markets, your baths, your shops, your factories, your stables, your places of business and traffic. We take ship with you and we serve in your armies, we are farmers and merchants with you; we interchange skilled labor and display our works in public for your service. How can we seem unprofitable to you with whom we live and of whom we are, I know not."

The true Christian does not renounce the activities of this life, he does not stunt his natural faculties; but he develops and perfects them, by coordinating them with the supernatural. He thus ennobles what is merely natural in life and secures for it new strength in the material and temporal order, no less than in the spiritual and eternal.

This fact is proved by the whole history of Christianity and its institutions, which is nothing else but the history of true civilization and progress up to the present day. It stands out conspicuously in the lives of the numerous Saints, whom the Church, and she alone, produces, in whom is perfectly realized the purpose of Christian education, and who have in every way ennobled and benefited human society. Indeed, the Saints have ever been, are, and ever will be the greatest benefactors of society, and perfect models for every class and profession, for every state and condition of life, from the simple and uncultured peasant to the master of sciences and letters, from the humble artisan to the commander of armies, from the father of a family to the ruler of peoples and nations, from simple maidens and matrons of the domestic hearth to queens and empresses. What shall we say of the immense work which has been accomplished even for the temporal well-being of men by missionaries of the Gospel, who have brought and still bring to barbarous tribes the benefits of civilization together with the light of the Faith? What of the founders of so many social and charitable institutions, of the vast numbers of saintly educators, men and women, who have perpetuated and multiplied their life-work, by leaving after them prolific institutions of Christian edu-

cation, in aid of families and for the inestimable advantage of nations?

CHRIST, MASTER AND MODEL OF EDUCATION

Such are the fruits of Christian education. Their price and value is derived from the supernatural virtue and life in Christ which Christian education forms and develops in man. Of this life and virtue Christ our Lord and Master is the source and dispenser. By His example He is at the same time the universal model accessible to all, especially to the young in the period of His hidden life, a life of labor and obedience, adorned with all virtues, personal, domestic and social, before God and men.

Now all this array of priceless educational treasures which We have barely touched upon, is so truly a property of the Church as to form her very substance, since she is the mystical body of Christ, the immaculate spouse of Christ, and consequently a most admirable mother and an incomparable and perfect teacher. This thought inspired St. Augustine, the great genius of whose blessed death we are about to celebrate the fifteenth centenary, with accents of tenderest love for so glorious a mother, "O Catholic Church, true Mother of Christians! Not only dost thou preach to us, as is meet, how purely and chastely we are to worship God Himself, Whom to possess is life most blessed; thou dost moreover so cherish neighborly love and charity, that all the infirmities to which sinful souls are subject, find their most potent remedy in thee. Childlike thou art in moulding the child, strong with the young man, gentle with the aged, dealing with each according to his needs of mind and of body. Thou dost subject child to parent in a sort of free servitude, and settest parent over child in a jurisdiction of love. Thou bindest brethren to brethren by the bond of religion, stronger and closer than the bond of blood. * * * Thou unitest citizen to citizen, nation to nation, yea, all men, in a union not of companionship only, but of brotherhood, reminding them of their common origin. Thou teachest kings to care for their people, and biddest people to be subject to their kings. Thou teachest assiduously to whom honor is due, to whom love, to whom reverence, to whom fear, to whom comfort, to whom rebuke, to whom punishment; showing us that whilst not all things nor the same things are due to all, charity is due to all and offence to none."

Let us then, Venerable Brethren, raise our hands and our hearts in supplication to heaven, "to the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls," to the divine King "who gives laws to rulers," that in His almighty power He may cause these splendid fruits of Christian education to be gathered in ever greater abundance "in the whole world," for the lasting benefit of individuals and of nations.

As a pledge of these heavenly favors, with paternal affection We impart to you, Venerable Brethren, to your clergy and your people, the Apostolic Benediction.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, the thirty-first day of December, in the year 1929, the eighth of our Pontificate.

PIUS PP. XI.

A Criticism of Bertrand Russell's "New Morality"

By WILLIAM CABELL BRUCE

FORMER UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MARYLAND

"MALE AND FEMALE created He them," and upon the differentiation of sex, implicit in these words, depends not only the permanence of the human race but the greater part of its social happiness.

In the earliest stages of human society a woman as a rule was the communal property of every male member of the tribe. Under such conditions, of course, there could be no such thing as definite paternity, nor inheritance except through the mother; indeed, nothing that could, by any proper use of language, be called marriage in the present sense. Excepted from communal possession, however, was a woman forcibly brought into the tribe from another tribe by capture. The spoil of the spear and bow of her individual captor, she became and remained his exclusive chattel. Hence arose exogamous marriage, that is to say, marriage outside the tribal family, and as a further sequel monogamous marriage, that is to say, the wedlock of one man and one woman, as now known to all highly civilized communities.

That monogamous marriage is one of the most certain of all the tokens of human progress, is a proposition upon which it is not necessary to waste even a syllable. Polyandrous women, namely, women mated in the institutional sense to more than one man, belong to the lowest levels of savage existence only. Polygamous men at best belong to indisputably backward societies only. The fastidious delicacy of the Greek civilization, the stern constancy of the early Roman character, the purity of the Christian system of morals, the chiv-

alrous impulses of medieval chivalry, all rejected polygamous unions as unworthy of marriage in its highest and noblest meaning. It is true that in ancient Greece the courtesan in some respects occupied a singularly privileged position in her relations to husbands; that in republican Rome the husband could exercise even the power of life and death over his wife and children; that early Christian asceticism entertained a carnal conception of marital intercourse, however free from just reproach, that was wholly unnatural; and that the spirit of medieval chivalry by no means shrank from exalting the resourceful seducer at the expense of the husband. But none of these things was of such a nature or existed to such a degree as to be totally irreconcilable with a genuine and deep-seated respect for monogamy as an institution of invaluable importance to human welfare.

The final result of the gradual transition from primitive promiscuity to monogamy was the triumph everywhere that the Roman Catholic Church established its sway of the theological dogma that husband and wife are of one flesh and that their contractual tie is a life-long one, indissoluble for any cause whatsoever, however grievous to either party or to both parties to it; and from the Roman Catholic Church, this dogma, to which that Church still adheres, has, though in most instances remolded into modified forms by public opinion, expressed in civil ordinances, passed into creeds of all the Protestant Churches.

Of all the modifications undergone by it, those worked by altered convictions about the legitimacy of divorce

are, obviously, the most radical. These convictions gained such headway in time as to render divorce available to the individual, first, in the form of a special legislative enactment, and then in the form of a judicial decree, authorized by general laws.

Hence it is that increased divorce has become almost a world-wide phenomenon, and in the United States especially one of such startling prominence that we may well ask ourselves whether it does not presage the complete, or all but complete, dissolution of the family life which we have fondly been in the habit of considering the best gift of individual existence and the very bedrock of the State. It is computed by the Federal Census Bureau that in 1928 for the United States as a whole there was one divorce for every six marriages, and that in the same year aside from the District of Columbia and the State of New York, where absolute divorce is allowed for but one cause, the ratio was only 1 to 52.5 and 21.6, respectively. The ratio of divorce to marriage throughout the United States ranged from 1 to 14 in Georgia to 1 to 1.6 in Nevada.

Manifestly, it requires but little imagination vividly to realize the squalid and tragic consequences which must have followed from such social disruption as these figures indicate. Picture but for a moment the alienated affection, the sullen antagonisms, the acrid bickerings and heated reproaches, the humiliating confession of moral failure on the part of the husband or wife or both, to say the least, that all these divorces must have involved, and the gross violations of marital and parental duty, the sin, the scandal, and the shame involved in many of them.

The license allowed by such freedom of divorce as exists in the United States at this time would seem to be amply sufficient to satisfy all the aspirations of the new sexual morality. It is readily conceivable how it might be practiced to such an extent as even to include such a case as that in the day when frequent divorce had become one of the most forbidding features of Ro-

man degradation, of the woman who, we are told by St. Jerome, was married when she had already had twenty-two husbands in succession to a man who had already had twenty wives in succession. Even in such a conservative city as Baltimore three decrees were entered a few weeks ago on the same day divorcing three couples whose several married lives are said to have averaged only three months in duration.

But closely as present-day marriage in the United States in the facilities that it affords for matrimonial changes resembles polygamy or polyandry, it is not lax enough to meet the views of such modern reformers as Bertrand Russell and other latter-day votaries like him of "the reeling Goddess with the zoneless waist." In his *Marriage and Morals* (New York: Liveright, 1929) Russell notes the fact that while in modern America "divorce is exceedingly easy," yet "adultery is condemned with far more severity than in most Catholic countries"; that this condemnation does not meet with his approval is shown by his statement on another page, "Adultery in itself should not, to my mind, be a ground of divorce." Indeed, easy divorce in America is interesting to this innovator only "as a transitional step on the way from the bi-parental to the purely maternal family." With the growth of modern civilization the rôle of the father, he thinks, is being increasingly taken over by the State, and there is reason to believe that a father may cease before long to be biologically advantageous, at any rate in the wage-earning class.

In the meantime, Russell holds, all sex relations which do not involve children should be regarded as the purely private affair of the man and woman, and even where a marriage is fruitful and both parties to it are reasonable and decent, the expectation ought to be that it will be life-long, but not that it will exclude other sex relations. Infidelity on the part of either husband or wife in such circumstances, for example, as the absence of the husband from the wife on business for some months ought not to form any barrier whatever

to subsequent happiness and, in fact, does not "where the husband and wife do not consider it necessary to indulge in melodramatic orgies of jealousy." Under this system men would be freed, it is true, from the duty of sexual conjugal fidelity, but they would have in exchange the duty of controlling jealousy.

As to children, contraceptives are making it increasingly possible to prevent sexual intercourse from leading to pregnancy, and are, therefore, according to Russell's view, enabling women, if unmarried, to avoid children altogether, and, if married, to have children only by their husbands without in either case finding it necessary to be chaste. With advances in the science of eugenics, the men with the best heredity may come to be sought after as fathers, while other men, though they may be acceptable as lovers, may find themselves rejected when they aim at paternity.

What women are now really inclined to insist upon in their relations to men, Russell argues, is not a single rule of continence but a single rule of indulgence; but few will suggest that they should acquire the same rights as men through the establishment of a class of male prostitutes for the satisfaction of women, who wish like their husbands to seem virtuous without being so. That the young man who would formerly have been driven to occasional visits to prostitutes is now able to enter upon relations with girls of his own kind is, Russell believes, from the point of view of any genuine morality, an immense advance upon the older system. Divorce, as in Soviet Russia, should turn solely upon mutual consent of the parties.

In reply to such daringly destructive opinions as these, if the institution of marriage in the United States had not lost such a large measure of its former stability it would be enough simply to exclaim in the words of Lear, "Pah! Pah! Give me an ounce of civet, good apothecary, to sweeten my imagination." Assuming that opinions of that kind do not conduct us directly to the

rabbit warren, they can at least be safely said to restore us to those aboriginal stages of human existence when neither religion nor the precepts of an enlightened morality nor the canons of a refined code of social conduct had yet brought the primal instincts of human lust into harmony with all that is loftiest, tenderest, and most constant in the human soul. But in recent years, as we have seen, the rising ratio of divorce to marriage in the United States has become so glaring that even such licentious views about matrimony as those of Russell can not be dismissed with mere impulsive indignation.

Of marriage, the corporeal and spiritual union of a man and woman under institutional sanctions, when it is what it should be and is capable of being and has often been, it is hard to speak or write too glowingly. Solemnized in most cases by religious rites, legalized by municipal laws which represent the soundest fruits of human experience, marked in its nobler forms by all that is best in what the poet visions and the moralist teaches, the gentle reconciler of passionate love and stern duty, without whose tutelary oversight love is but a fickle harlot, the nurse of infancy, the guardian genius and educator of youth, the decorous divinity of home and its sweet, wholesome social pleasures, and serene domestic interests and joys, the benignant custodian from age to age of the deathless spark of human life, the heart is frigid, indeed, that does not warm when it remembers all that lawful wedlock has meant to the loving and duteous sentiments and feelings of the great mass of worthy men and women, whether husbands and wives or sons and daughters and to the general welfare of society.

The place of such an institution as this can never be permanently taken by a conjugal relationship, if such it can be called, inspired exclusively or all but exclusively by the promptings of one of the most capricious and fugitive of our physical appetites, based upon no exclusive vow of mutual fidelity while it lasts, and terminable at any moment

during that time at the will of the parties to it. Such a relationship takes no account of religious precept or of moral instinct or of state policy or of the deep-rooted spirit of resentful jealousy which does not brook the slightest invasion of its marital privilege and tinges with blood almost every issue of one of our daily newspapers, or of the great majority of husbands and wives who sincerely revere the "honorable state of matrimony" and abhor the thought of any meretricious connection whatsoever, or of the profound craving for paternity, which is only less strong than the craving for maternity, or of the family confusion and disorganization worked by marital infidelity, or of the extent to which marriage owes its durability rather to moral principles than to mere sexual attraction which steadily declines, except so far as it is kept refreshed by something finer than itself, as masculine vigor and female beauty diminish with growing years, or of the economic helplessness, especially in the latter stages of human existence, in which a wife might be left at any time, if she had nothing better to rely upon than the persistency of an attachment freed from all restraints of conjugal duty as now understood.

But the unblushing suggestions of such sex doctrinaires as Russell have, nevertheless, their value in the warning that they afford us of the still greater relaxation that may befall the marriage tie in this country, unless the steady increase of divorce which has for some time past been under way, is in some manner checked. One divorce for every six marriages is a fact as well calculated to shock the social conscience of the American people as any that we can think of. But easy divorce which, bad as it is, yet pays to marriage the kind of sinister tribute that hypocrisy is said to pay to virtue, is a tame thing as compared with a society in which men and women would concern themselves but little about divorce because they would concern themselves as little about marriage.

Despite the vast amount of general crime, partly the result of too little law

in some respects and partly the result of too much law in other respects, which we see abroad in the United States today, side by side with distressing evidences of disintegration in the family, we should prefer to think that our estate is no worse than that of imperial Rome, which even when divorce was rifest within its limits, was ennobled by many striking examples of married purity and devotion.

The present laxity of the marriage tie in the United States is due in part to rationalistic recession from the extreme theological conception of marriage as an absolutely indissoluble relationship and the more liberal education and wider scope of employment opened up to women by modern conditions. That some slackening of the marriage bonds would be produced by these agencies was naturally to be anticipated. A social institution, no more than anything else that appertains to human life, can be expected rigidly to retain forever the form given to it by its original matrix. But the present laxity of the nuptial tie in the United States is due in part to the excessive multiplication of legal grounds for divorce, as the comparative freedom from divorce of the State of New York and the District of Columbia, where there is but a single legal cause for divorce, shows, to the luxurious self-indulgent habits of every sort bred by the unexampled material prosperity of the United States at the present time and to the speculative aphrodisiacs of theoretical writers who find in these habits a gainful field of literary profit.

Against these particular agencies of demoralization at any rate there is no reason why the Church, the State and all that is best in the manhood and womanhood of our country should not take a determined stand, assured that, however much the tides of human disaffection and restlessness may heave and murmur about the shores of human existence, there are in the sphere of marriage, as in all other spheres, as a great English writer, Lecky, has said, certain eternal moral landmarks which never can be removed.

President Masaryk of Czechoslovakia

By JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

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WHEN PRESIDENT THOMAS GARRIGUE MASARYK of Czechoslovakia celebrates the eightieth anniversary of his birth on March 7, 1930, he will receive the homage of all classes of the nation, which was reborn through his efforts twelve years ago. Czechoslovakia is a child of the struggle for the self-determination of nations, and it was because the United States played a decisive part in the liberation of this State that Masaryk was able to test his ideas, which proved, on application, to be sound. In twelve years, with his followers' help, he has guided his country to stability and prosperity such as no other State of Central Europe has achieved.

Masaryk's personality has always stood above all the petty internal dissensions of political parties. Periodical announcements that he intends to resign pass hardly noticed by the Czechoslovaks at home and abroad, for none of them can believe that their "Father Masaryk" would give up his leadership. Despite political differences, despite attacks on Dr. Eduard Benes, his chief lieutenant and pupil, and despite Fascist attempts to belittle the President in the eyes of the people, Masaryk retains an influence that extends far beyond the frontiers of Czechoslovakia, and that already gives him the significance of a great historical figure.

The son of a coachman on an imperial estate which belonged to the imperial family which ruled the Habsburg Empire for centuries, Masaryk was born in the Moravian border town of Hodonin on March 7, 1850, and began his career as locksmith's apprentice in Vienna, and then as a blacksmith. The protests of his former schoolmaster, however, caused his parents to let him study to become a teacher. Beginning

anew at Brno, Moravia, he supported himself by giving lessons. Independent minded, he often had disputes, both philological and disciplinary, with his professors. Subsequently he entered the University of Vienna and in time became a minor professor.

In the meantime he had spent a year in Leipzig, where he became acquainted with Miss Charlie Garrigue of Brooklyn, N. Y., later his wife, which explains his middle name. In 1876, before Miss Garrigue returned to America, Masaryk became engaged to her. Two years later he received news that his future wife was seriously hurt by a fall from a carriage. Masaryk was nearly drowned in the old ship in which he crossed the Atlantic before he was married on March 15, 1878. Mrs. Masaryk suffered severely during the World War on account of her husband's activities abroad, and was spared only by the intervention of President Wilson.

When the University of Prague in 1882 was divided into two sections, a Czech and a German, Masaryk became a professor in the former. Gifted with a captivating personality, he began to attract attention as a lecturer in the clubs and societies of Prague, while the books he began to write added to his reputation. By 1900 he had already taught large numbers of students and written a number of remarkable books, but his literary and political activities did not make him popular with the dominant elements of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He was hated by the Church, punished by the State, and all but expatriated by the national leaders when he challenged and disapproved the authenticity of certain famous Czech historical manuscripts. He was accused of national sacrilege, and in the Catholic papers he was

branded as a godless individual and a Freemason. In 1910 legal action was taken against him by 308 priests as a disturber of religion. Although at the time of his appointment to the University of Prague the government had agreed to make him a full professor within three years, he had to wait sixteen years, while his own pupils were promoted to positions above him. Even worse was the government's displeasure when, as a member of a Parliamentary delegation, he exposed to Europe the Austro-Hungarian disorders in Bosnia-Herzegovina and when he interceded in the notorious high treason trial at Zagreb, the Friedjung trial in Vienna, and that of Vasitch in Belgrade.

Masaryk's political philosophy, already formulated before the World War, anticipated President Wilson's self-determination of small nations. "The idea of nationality," Masaryk wrote, "is for an enlightened person a whole program. If I say, 'I am a Czech,' I must have a program of national culture. As the tendency to national development increases, States become national. Nationality creates States or, in other words, every nation strives for its own political being, which is necessary even to a small nation."

Injustice and animosity on the part of his fellow-countrymen left no bitterness in Masaryk's mind. In September, 1914, feeling that the hour had struck for the reconquest of the Czechoslovak liberty which had been destroyed at the Battle of the White Mountain in 1620, he took the lead in the work of national redemption. Therein lies his greatness. Nobody knew what was to be the result of the World War. The politicians of Czechoslovakia, with the exception of Masaryk, Benes, and a few of his followers, did not even dare to start a movement against the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Masaryk was already 64 years of age, and there seemed to be no hope.

Too energetic to be a pacifist, Masaryk found in his humanitarian program a corrective to the passive attitude expressed by Tolstoy's principle of

non-resistance to evil, for he proclaimed the necessity of an active defense of truth and goodness, if need be at the edge of the sword. Even if he was opposed to radicalism and revolution, he did not repudiate them, should they prove in the last resort to be weapons with which to vindicate the rights of the oppressed. The same program which refused to tolerate falsehood and violence in politics led Masaryk to the conviction that Austria was incapable of reform along national and democratic lines, that she was an obstacle to the progress and development of her non-German and non-Magyar races, and that therefore the place of the Czechoslovaks was with the allied forces. He embodied his conclusions in his work *The New Europe*, which was not only written as Czechoslovak revolutionary propaganda, but was also a philosophical justification of the Allies' war aims. It revealed Austria-Hungary as a medieval negation of the modern ideas of State and nationality.

In December, 1914, Masaryk fled from Austria to become the leader in the work of national redemption. He made himself the chief apostle of the Czechoslovaks among the Allies, inspired the formation of the famous Czechoslovak legions in Russia, Italy and France, traveled through three continents on behalf of his cause and finally returned from exile as president of the Czechoslovak Republic.

After a tour in Holland and Italy, he settled in Geneva, where, with intervals of absence in France and England, he remained until September, 1915. There he was able to keep in touch with his friends at home and prepare revolutionary measures. But as soon as he decided to proclaim his purposes publicly his stay in Switzerland became inconvenient, for he did not desire to violate the neutrality of the country where he had found refuge.

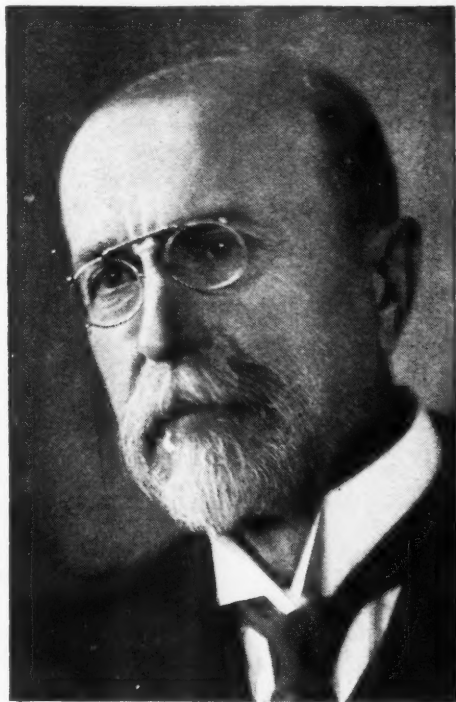
During his visits to Paris and London Masaryk became aware that officials there were not disposed to support the Czechoslovak cause. He therefore fell back on unofficial aid. In Paris he was supported by Professors Denis

and Eisenmann; while in England R. Seton-Watson and Wickham Steed, foreign editor of the London *Times*, both prominent publicists, supported his cause and had him invited to lecture at King's College. His cause was encouraged somewhat at his inaugural lecture when Lord Robert Cecil read a letter from Prime Minister Asquith containing the statement, "First and foremost we are fighting for the liberty of small nations in order that they may be liberated from the oppression of their more powerful neighbors, and in the future be permitted to develop their own national life and institutions."

During this period Masaryk was joined by two other professors—Dr. Eduard Benes, lecturer at the Charles University of Prague and Professor of Economics at the Czechoslovak Commercial Academy, who decided to sacrifice his personal fortune and throw in his lot with Masaryk, and Dr. Milan Stefanik, a self-exiled Slovak who had gone abroad before the war, becoming well known as an astronomer and a figure in the highest circles of France. Those three men formed the Czechoslovak National Council in Paris, which was later to possess the authority of a government and before the end of the war be recognized as such *de facto* by the Allies.

Stefanik's connections enabled Masaryk, in 1916, to be received by Prime Minister Briand, who assured Masaryk of the sympathies of France for the Czechoslovak nation. A considerable measure of success attended Masaryk's activities during the difficult Winter of 1916-1917, for he organized the Czechoslovaks living abroad and extended his principle "by our own strength" to the financing of the movement, the money for which was provided by the efforts of the Czechoslovaks in America.

Having laid a safe foundation for the revolutionary movement in Western Europe, Masaryk went to Russia, where the Czechoslovak legions were already being organized. When the Russians concluded peace at Brest-Litovsk, he proclaimed the independence of the Czechoslovak Army on Feb. 7, 1918,



Underwood

PRESIDENT MASARYK

and by way of Siberia and Japan left for America, reaching Chicago on May 5, 1918. The Czechoslovak name was becoming famous throughout the United States. The Czechoslovak legions defied the orders of Trotsky in Russia, forced their way across Siberia to Vladivostok and gained possession of the Trans-Siberian Railway. Masaryk secured a diplomatic success when Secretary Lansing issued a proclamation of May 29, 1918, expressing sincere sympathy with the Czechoslovak and Yugoslav claims to independence. This was a decisive advance as compared with President Wilson's fourteen points, which spoke only of the rights of the Austrian nations to autonomous development.

The culmination of Masaryk's revolutionary diplomatic work came on Oct. 18, 1918, when he issued the Czechoslovak declaration of independence in order to frustrate the Austro-Hungarian peace offers of Oct. 7. It is interesting

to note that the document was drawn up in America, in the houses at 3,620 Sixteenth Street and 1,125 Fourteenth Street, Washington, D. C. There was a close connection between this declaration and President Wilson's note in reply to Count Andrássy, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister. The reply fully adopted the standpoint of Masaryk's declaration and placed the destiny of the Habsburgs into the hands of the Czechoslovaks and Yugoslavs. On Dec. 21, 1918, Masaryk entered Prague amid scenes of wild enthusiasm, which culminated in his election as President at the first meeting of the National Assembly. On May 27, 1927, he was re-elected.

Masaryk's work during the last twelve years is characterized by what Mrs. Masaryk said to the delegation of women who came to congratulate her on the election of her husband to the Presidency: "My husband does not ask for celebrations; my husband is a man of work." Such he is, as has been proved ever since his return to Prague. Writing in his "War Memoirs" he says: "What were my feelings as the people

of Prague gave me so splendid a reception, and as I drove through the streets in a democratic motor car instead of the gilded carriage that would have been too reminiscent of times that were past? Was I glad, was I joyous? * * * The heavy work awaiting me, the work of building up our restored State decently and well, constantly weighed on my mind."

President Masaryk is a man whose philosophy of life has been successful, and yet his family life has left him with many scars. One of his sons died in 1915; his wife was mentally unbalanced when he returned to Prague in 1918, and his other children mostly reside abroad. He lives alone after he fulfills his official duties. His only recreation is his daily horse-back ride. After dinner he sits at the same table on which he signs documents and reads. Officially his duties are heavy. Receptions and audiences make their demand on him. But when he makes his yearly tour of his country the people welcome him not only officially as President but also as their "Father Masaryk."



President Masaryk setting out on a drive from the Presidential Palace, Prague

Ortiz Rubio, Mexico's New President

By SALVADOR MENDOZA

MEMBER OF THE MEXICAN BAR; A FORMER EDITOR OF *El Universal* OF MEXICO CITY

PASCUAL ORTIZ RUBIO was elected Nov. 17, 1929, President of Mexico for a period of six years, 1928-1934, to fill Obregón's term and to succeed the retiring transient President, Portes Gil. The latter, it should be noted, came to power on the assassination of General Obregón seventeen days after his election.

Ortiz Rubio enters office under the most favorable auspices ever attending the inauguration of any previous Mexican President. The election gave him a majority of about a million and a half over the two opposing candidates combined; this represented the greatest number of votes ever received by any Presidential candidate in Mexico.

After his election, Ortiz Rubio visited the United States, and was received by President Hoover in Washington.

On his return to Mexico he took formal possession of his new office. In doing so he was thoroughly justified in believing that no other Mexican President had ever come into power under better conditions of international friendship with foreign powers, notably the United States, because of the pre-eminent position it occupies by reason of its proximity and close relations with Mexico; or under better conditions in Mexico herself, where peace and tranquillity prevail.

President Ortiz Rubio is a mixed-blood native, born in the city of Morelia, State of Michoacán, on March 10, 1877. "Tarascos" Indian Kings, as well as Spaniard "conquistadores" are mentioned among his ancestors. An engineer graduated from Mexico City, he is an expert in agriculture and water-works, with a very satisfactory professional record.

In 1910 he was a leader in Madero's revolution. When Porfirio Díaz fell, Ortiz Rubio was elected representa-

tive to the Chamber of Deputies. There he joined a group of men of the type of Luis Cabrera, Serapio Rendón, Rafael Nieto, Felix F. Palavicini and such as these, and they formed the "Bloque Renovador" (renewal bloc) to fight in Parliament for the ideals of the incipient Mexican social revolution.

In February, 1913, General Victoriano Huerta usurped the Presidency of Mexico, and President Madero was killed. A climax came in the Parliamentary venture. Huerta could not suffer further opposition from the Chamber, loyal to the memory of Madero, and in October, 1913, arrested all the members of the "Bloque" and put them in the penitentiary of Mexico City. Ortiz Rubio and many of his friends spent one year in prison until they were rescued by Carranza's triumphant revolution.

As an engineer, Ortiz Rubio then took part in the work of reorganizing Mexico. Unfortunately, a feud arose between the greatest leaders of the Mexican movement. Carranza and Obregón were separated by tremendous misunderstandings. Ortiz Rubio was signalized as an "Obregonista" and he accepted this situation, continuing in the politics of his country—as one of the most loyal of Obregón sympathizers. Thus, when he was nominated as a candidate for the Governorship of Michoacán, he accepted a large prospect of struggle and difficulties with Carranza, then President of Mexico. But he received such strong support from his countrymen and so many votes, that he was elected Governor against the will of the old "chief."

It was at this time that Ortiz Rubio—"the Governor whom the Centre disliked," as it was customary to call him within political circles—first came to my editorial attention. The

new Governor seemed hardly likely to retain his power very long, as now his political opponent, Carranza, gave him no support against Chavez García, Altamirano, and other rebels who were then harassing the mountains of the Western State. Ortiz Rubio vainly asked the assistance of the Federal troops. The Associated Press once reported that 200 rebels had traversed one night the streets of Morelia, before the nose of the Federal General, and had come to the very door of the Governor's home, exchanging shots with Ortiz Rubio and a handful of his personal escort. I remember that I published an article in *El Universal* denouncing in sharp terms the anarchical situation created by politics in one of the most important States of the republic, and entreating the Federal Government not to tolerate any longer such a "ménage à trois" jeopardizing the very principle of State authority, pointing out the sinister passivity of the Federal troops, supposed and expected to protect peace and enforce public order, regardless of party spirit or political feuds.

In 1920, Ortiz Rubio took part in the uprising of Obregón. He was appointed commander-in-chief of a score of States in the centre of the country. He recruited thousands of men, occupying the city of Morelia and dominating the central section of the country, while General Calles was moving from Sonora to the South. After the triumph he paraded on the streets of Mexico City with his troops, but left them immediately under the control of the government, not keeping a single soldier under his personal command.

Subsequently he held the portfolio of Communications and Public Works in the Cabinets of de la Huerta and Obregón, but resigned and went to Europe to establish a private office of commercial engineering at Barcelona, thus proving his ability to earn his living in any professional and non-official post.

Perhaps he himself was surprised when President Obregón asked him to be Minister of Mexico to Germany. This was in 1923, and Mexico was once more

the centre of agitation and trouble. Ortiz Rubio occupied the Mexican Legation at Berlin and accomplished remarkable work for two years. Calles promoted him to the Embassy at Brazil in December, 1925. And it was from this position that he was called by Portes Gil, then newly inaugurated, in December, 1928, to take charge of the Department of the Interior as an esteemed member of the Presidential Cabinet.

On his arrival in Mexico City, the former Ambassador attracted the attention of the political groups and became the candidate of the National Revolutionary party for president. And thus he was elected by a majority of seven figures in an election called by the adviser of the American Embassy in Mexico, as quoted by The Associated Press, "one of the best performances of democracy held by the Southern country."

Ortiz Rubio is not the classic type of "strong man" familiar to observers of Mexican politics. He is only a good servant of a country whose citizens claim that they are acquiring, step by step, the habits of democracy and social consciousness. He rose from the bottom to the peak throughout all the vicissitudes and dramatic stages of Mexican history in recent years. Representative, Governor, Secretary of State, Ambassador and President in eighteen years, it is hard to find another man of his calibre in Latin-American countries.

Like President Portes Gil, Ortiz Rubio dislikes to be considered a "caudillo" (military leader). In this the two men are upholding the tradition and teaching of former President Calles, broadcast when leaving power, in the famous statement in which he announced the "coming new era of institutions" and its effect upon the destinies of Mexico. According to Calles's theory, Mexico will reach unsuspected possibilities for constitutional self-government when the Presidency and the high posts of the administration are given to plain citizens for duty, instead of being granted to Generals as rewards for fighting. No one is ignorant of this as

a pure principle, but this is the first time in the history of Mexico that the principle has actually been applied. Ortiz Rubio should be, therefore, the second President of the "new era" announced by Calles—Calles himself being the last "strong hand" to control the Mexican destiny.

Even though the conditions in which Ortiz Rubio assumes power in Mexico are extremely favorable, he will find a score of major problems to which he must give immediate attention. The most important are: the Mexican foreign debt, the agrarian issue regarding the seizure of lands, the proposed labor code and the political problem represented by Calles's personality in Mexican politics.

The Mexican foreign debt runs in round figures to nearly \$700,000,000, capital and overdue interest. In this figure are comprised the direct government debt and the debt of the Mexican railroads, which is a corporation distinct from the government itself, though the latter obligation was incorporated as a government obligation by the Lamont-de la Huerta agreement of July 16, 1922, being later separated by the Pani-Lamont agreement of Oct. 23, 1925. Mexico has suspended payments at various times as a consequence of revolutions. The bankers who have a committee of representatives in New York, headed by Mr. Thomas W. Lamont, of the Morgan firm, have agreed twice to readjust the debt and to arrange with the Ministers of Finances, Adolfo de la Huerta (Obregón Administration) and Alberto J. Pani (Calles Administration), various facilities in favor of Mexico, in order to put her in condition to meet these financial obligations. The first agreement gave a moratorium of five years similar to that granted to Germany under the Dawes plan for the resuming of the regular service of the Mexican debt. But in the meantime and before the term was over, because of the difficulties in which the country was involved, as a result of the revolution headed by the signer of the agreement, Adolfo de la Huerta, against Obregón, his former



PASCUAL ORTIZ RUBIO
A cartoon by Maribona

chief, the bankers' committee made a new agreement with Alberto J. Pani, in 1925, granting the detachment from the government's debt, of the debt of the railroads, officially called "Ferrocarriles Nacionales de México, S. A.," a corporation in which the government holds 51 per cent of the stock. According to this new settlement, the railroads will receive nearly \$340,000,000, and the remainder goes to the government until the payment of the \$700,000,000 mentioned above is completed.

Mexican economists are in favor of a new settlement which, instead of imposing upon the country urgent obligations of payment in short terms, will permit her to regain financial prosperity, this being a better guarantee for the creditor. For the sake of the creditors themselves, it is advisable that such a solution should be found and applied to Mexico. Both in Mexico and in the United States there is a feeling that the policy of Ambassador Mor-

row, formerly a partner of the Morgan house, is inspired by this purpose, based on the realization that it is wiser to have in Mexico a well-guaranteed mortgage, promising safe interests, than to exert immediate pressure on a debtor in bankruptcy.

Ortiz Rubio, according to Associated Press reports, has broadcast an announcement that from now on the seizure of lands shall be effected only after paying the price of them to their owners. The problem has passed the critical point. The resistance to the revolution has been broken, according to many observers, and at present it is necessary only to obey the agrarian law already issued, and comply with the common law requirements, observed throughout all of the countries in the world for public utility expropriation, in order to satisfy the revolution's ideals.

According to recent dispatches, the Mexican Government has ordered the disarmament of the agrarian troops formed by peasants armed by the government some years ago to combat the rebel factions and who have resisted the attempt to deprive them of their arms now that their services and cooperation have become unnecessary. The possession of those arms is a ground for uncomfortable feeling in Mexico because the "agraristas" claim that they have the right to use such arms in defense of the lands that they are given "provisionally," in many instances pending the definite ruling of the Supreme Court, or the "Comisión Nacional Agraria," an executive consulting body whose duty is to pass upon the applications for lands made by the peasants. Many times bloody engagements have occurred in the attempt to oust the agrarians from those "provisional possessions." President Portes Gil in the last week of his government has forbidden that such a disarmament order be issued.

It is generally believed in Mexico that the time is over when agitation was necessary as a government weapon. The "agrarista" agitator broadcasting and announcing "lands for the peasants" without any discrimination as to

social and economic factors, is no longer a good agent for securing partisans. *Agitation* is now government, and *ideals* are now laws. Thus, the revolutionary government can go down in history as a government whose highest merit has been enforcement of laws representing a large process of adaptation and compromise. If Ortiz Rubio adopts this standpoint his government will mark the settlement of the "legalist era" which was necessary for the reconstruction of Mexico. That epoch-making start will be, thence, the "era of institutions" announced by Calles when leaving power in 1928.

The labor issue in Mexico is not a matter of communism. There is a Communist party, and it even presented a candidate in the last elections, but it is still a very weak minority. Labor organization in Mexico has been effected for the last twenty years following the system of the American Federation of Labor, centring in the Crom, initials of the name "Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana," on the basis of syndicalism. At least 2,000,000 workers now know in principle how to fight for their welfare through the union system.

The Constitution of 1917 devoted to the laboring classes Article 123 which has been since then, the basis for all projects of legislation on this matter. Article 123 establishes the right to strike, and at the same time the right of "paro" (stopping work) for the employers; the eight-hour day regulates the work of children and women, and guarantees three months' salary to every employee discharged without reason. Congress has decided that labor legislation shall be ruled by a law to be observed throughout all the country; and Portes Gil, while Secretary of the Interior under Calles, prepared a project on the basis of his experience as Governor of Tamaulipas, assisted by some Mexican advisers who had specialized in labor legislation abroad.

The project went for revision to the Department of Industry then under the charge of Dr. Manuel Puig Casauranc. Portes Gil and Puig acting both together, submitted the project to an as-

sembly of laborers and employers, stating that everybody inside and outside of the meeting had the right to propose suggestions and make criticisms.

The draft was modified in many points according to those suggestions received, and the project, after a new revision by President Portes Gil himself, was sent to Congress for discussion. The project represents a compromise. Nobody is completely satisfied with it; radicals call it weak and conservatives say it will be the ruin of Mexican industry. Portes Gil claims that, coming from the extremes of the radicalism of ten years ago, it represents the maximum of the possibilities for a real social and economic improvement of the labor classes in Mexico.

Ortiz Rubio finds another problem confronting him in the political influence of General Calles—a problem which his predecessor, Portes Gil, also had to face.

When leaving the government, Calles, with a sincerity that nobody could dispute, declared that "in Mexico the era of 'caudillos' was over, and that the era of institutions had begun. Being himself the strongest man of Mexico at that moment, he asserted that "he was leaving power and politics forever." But there are many observers who do not believe the words of Calles, and who have been watching his acts on the theory that he is still really the "boss" in Mexico, governing from the back of the stage. Those skeptical observers declared that Portes Gil would be a puppet of Calles, and they now similarly assert that Ortiz Rubio will be another puppet of Calles.

This bias is the secret cause, probably, of the nervous political feeling reported from Mexico. The newspaper correspondents are always careful in giving details of events in Mexico, to make such statements as these: "Ortiz Rubio calls on Calles on arriving in Mexico; behind closed doors for a long while;" "Portes Gil came to greet Calles at the railroad station, though he did not do this in the case of Ortiz Rubio," and so forth, thus confirming the psychological situation referred to.

General Calles is doubtless too extraordinary a personality in Mexico to pass unnoticed in any speculation upon the Mexican situation. And he will remain such for a long time to come. Nor will he himself be able to prevent his counsel, friendship and sympathy from having the high importance that they are esteemed to have.

But on the other hand all appearances point to his sincerity in seeking to procure for both Presidents Portes Gil and Ortiz Rubio the whole authority supposed to be attached to their legal posts. When Portes Gil began to govern, Calles, according to many observers, went to Europe to leave the way clear for his successor, more than to seek health or rest.

Calles, of course, is a very useful element to any government in his country, as his personality, being a tremendous force for coordination, will be a factor for unity and peace. But there is nothing to lead us to believe that Ortiz Rubio, with his precedents and his own personality, will not have the power to control the country, even though he is not the "caudillo" type of former days, but only the average man who, at the head of a popular government, is the best guarantee that Mexico is at last really entering upon a constitutional and democratic era.

President Ortiz Rubio understands and speaks English and reads the American newspapers. He pledged himself to develop better understanding and mutual knowledge between Mexico and the United States in one of his first statements given to the press on arriving in New York during his recent visit here. He has visited this country before, while attending to private professional business, and also as a representative of Mexico on various official missions. He knows the psychology of the American people and its special reactions concerning Latin-American affairs. And he has announced that he will continue the international policy of Calles and Portes Gil—a policy of mutual understanding, mutual interest and mutual justice.

China's Policy of Unrestricted Sovereignty

By JAMES T. SHOTWELL

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FOR SOME unknown reason, or lack of reason, lawyers have seemingly taken a perverse delight in erecting barriers of language against any widespread popular interest in many of their most important problems. In no other field have technicalities played so damaging a rôle as in international law. The dealings of nations with each other are first of all clothed in what Lord Salisbury used to call the "technical jargon" of diplomacy; and then the contracts in which they bind themselves to do this or that are cased in language which the ordinary student can hardly follow. Even the great treaties are generally of this kind, such as that of Locarno, which binds the European powers to policies of peace in a document which one must read backward or forward many times in order to understand what it is all about. The general treaty of arbitration between the United States and the South American States, drawn up a year ago in Washington, which, if adopted, will be one of the milestones of American history, is cast in language so involved as to leave even the specialist somewhat puzzled. The popular success of the anti-war pact of Paris, the Kellogg-Briand pact, as it is commonly called, is largely due to the fact that it avoided both the diplomatic and the legal jargon and stated the principles which it embodied in simple phrases.

It is a term of this kind which stands out in the problem of China's relation to the outside world. China demands the abolition of "extraterritoriality." The word itself is a particularly barbarous and difficult one, difficult even

to pronounce, so that the British writers and speakers who refer to it have begun to shorten it to the still less intelligible form, "extrality." The mere use of the term puts China at a disadvantage. It is not only unclear in itself, that is, the word does not explain itself to those who have not studied the problem beforehand, but it is even misleading in its inference. For it does not refer to any territorial claims of other nations in China, but to methods of law courts and matters of police. The confusion is still more intensified by the fact that some of the powers involved, particularly Great Britain, France and Japan, have territorial concessions in China to which this word might seem at first glance to refer. The United States has no such territorial concession; nevertheless, it is deeply involved in the question of extraterritoriality. So confused is the situation that even the Chinese seem at times to use the term in a general way to include the whole range of foreign privileges in China.

And yet, after all, the problem of extraterritoriality can be stated very simply. When foreigners settled in China—at least citizens of the nations concerned—they obtained from China the right to remain under the legal system of their own country, represented there by their consuls or other officials appointed to look after their rights. In legal matters they were still treated as though they were residents of their home country, carrying with them the protection of their own laws. Now, if we view this privilege from the standpoint of China, it is as though these residents were living outside the terri-

tory of China while physically resident there. This is just what the term "extraterritoriality" means. The prefix "extra" is used in its old Latin meaning of "outside." The foreigners remain legally outside China. They do not need to be living in a concession to have this right, but simply have the right to apply to their consul for the protection of Western law. This is the régime under which American citizens have lived in China; theoretically it means that they have never left home, so far as the protection of the law is concerned.

Now, the Chinese have long protested against this state of affairs. Even before the Nationalist movement, in the Imperial régime, the privileges exercised under these arrangements by foreigners on Chinese soil were protested against and endured with dislike by public-spirited Chinese. It was a protest which the growth of the Nationalist movement was bound to intensify. The new Republic of China, in proportion as it overthrew enemies at home, became increasingly conscious of the intruding stranger, with his domineering ways. The unification of the country was not complete so long as the extraterritorial régime lasted. Finally, in 1929, the Chinese Government lost patience with the delays of the other powers in working out a solution, and gave notice that from Jan. 1, 1930, it would refuse to recognize extraterritoriality in China any longer.

Unfortunately the foreign powers enjoying this right, while admitting the principle of an ultimate abolition, did not agree that the time had yet come for relinquishing it. The United States, and Great Britain as well, repeated once more the statement that they had often made in the past, that they

were ready to give up the privilege under conditions which would guarantee a fair and proper treatment of their citizens in China, but insisted that these conditions did not yet exist. Unable to bring the other powers to its point of view, the Chinese Government then announced that it was going ahead on its own account, and even if the foreign nations refused to act, it would not recognize their rights of extraterritoriality after Jan. 1, 1930. For a while it looked as though there might be a serious crisis at the opening of the year, but fortunately the British Foreign Office came forward with a happy suggestion which was readily accepted by the Chinese. It stated that Great Britain accepted the date set by China as marking the theoretical end of extraterritoriality, but



Punch, London

EXTRATERRITORIALITIS

Mr. Henderson: "Isn't your withdrawal of extraterritorial rights from my countrymen a little sudden?"

John Chinaman: "We humbly thought that it might be good practice for your Excellency's honorable evacuation of Egypt"

that instead of involving any immediate practical change, both countries should regard themselves as entering upon a provisional period of study and experiment to find the proper substitute for the extraterritorial courts which were in theory abolished. During this provisional period the courts would continue to function and everything would go on just as it had been.

The crisis was avoided—or postponed; but the problem remains unsolved, and is pressing for settlement. The situation is one that calls for the most careful handling, for it is filled with gravest possibilities. It should not be thought that because we have faced the immediate crisis without serious consequences the period of provisional arrangement can be extended indefinitely. China expects us to mean what we say when we state that we are ready to work out the problem with it and seriously set to work to rid the Chinese of what it regards as an irksome condition. Undue delay will be interpreted in only one way. There will be something more than mere impatience unless we take action soon. Already last Summer Chinese who had been most friendly to the United States were beginning to ask if our protestations of good-will to those who are building the new China were not after all a mere expression of national hypocrisy, thus echoing the charge which has been made against us by European critics. They stated that China was already tired of good-will messages that were not followed up by action, and gave warning that Chinese public opinion might very readily turn all the more against America because of its disillusionment with reference to us. It is clear that we should do soon what we must in any case do later on; but unfortunately there is still division of opinion concerning not only the time when final action should be taken, but the provisions necessary for safeguarding life and property when extraterritoriality is abolished. The merchant of Shanghai has a right to be heard as well as the nationalist Chinese. Only by a fair

hearing can we expect to enlist the ultimate support of both parties to any proposal for settlement.

First of all let us see if we can get the Chinese point of view. This is not easy. It is not to be gained by simply acquiescing in a sentimental way to anything and everything that may be advanced by individual Chinese speaking or writing for the Western World. It is a point of view that is colored by all Chinese history, not only by the history of the last half century during which the problem of extraterritoriality has existed. The attitude of the Chinese people toward the outside world is involved in it, and that attitude is determined by all the centuries that lie behind the European advent. There is a proud consciousness of superiority over foreigners equally shared by all classes of Chinese. The coolie laborers in northern France never cease to regard the French as a barbarian people. The very name the country bore and still bears in the Chinese language marked it as the centre of the world. It was the "Middle Kingdom," beyond whose frontiers, as around a centre, the indiscriminate world might revolve; until the advent of the modern West no one thought of questioning this claim of imperial supremacy over other peoples. The princes of Asia brought tribute from beyond that frontier, where the Great Wall symbolized the might and prestige of the ruler of the Forbidden City. The Altar of Heaven, where the Emperor interceded for a quarter of the human race, was held to be the very central spot of all the world. Today the solitary visitor brushes aside the weeds from between the marble steps that lead to that desolate altar, trying in vain to recall the vanished splendor of the past.

Although even the Chinese share this sense of strangeness now, for they are the most realistic of peoples, nevertheless the passing of the imperial régime has not destroyed their sense of Chinese inherent greatness. The political revolution did not dislodge a fundamental continuity in China's social structure and in the attitudes toward



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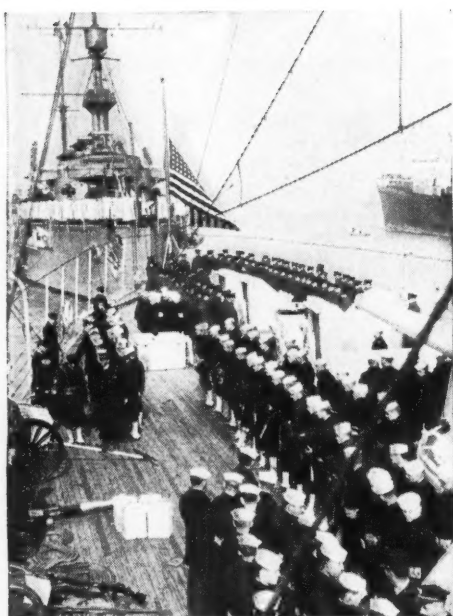
The Nationalist (Kuomintang) Chinese flag hung on a pier along the Yangtse River.
A Japanese warship is seen in midstream

foreigners. It is not from mere inertia that it holds to its traditional ways, but because those ways have existed so many centuries as to impress themselves on the minds of men as though they were the only ways that normal men should act. The isolation of China was largely due to its unique geographical position, but its self-centred complacency was the result of a history equally unique.

It is only when one keeps in mind this deeply rooted pride of race that one can fully realize the extent of the humiliation imposed upon the Chinese people by the foreigners, whose claims were exacted and maintained by force. British battleships sweeping the junks of China from their path guarded the ports, while foreign merchants built their warehouses and set up their banks. The establishment of extraterritoriality has been from first to last, so far as the Chinese are concerned, the symbol of a surrender. It is a po-

litical fact, an affront to the national pride of the proudest of nations. The memory of an affront is cherished longer and more distinctly by the injured party than by the one committing it.

But if the people of China were ever inclined to forget the injuries of the past they were not allowed to do so by the foreign powers. Not only were battleships maintained along the seaports where concessions were seized and held under foreign ownership, but gunboats carrying foreign flags patrolled the stretches of the Yangtse River for over a thousand miles inland. The diplomatic quarter in Peking was like an encampment of conquerors protected by troops constantly visible to the population of the city. That these measures were necessary for the protection of foreigners in China was all too clearly shown at the time of the Boxer Rebellion. But the fact remains that, viewed from the standpoint of the



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The flagship Pittsburgh preparing to land 300 American bluejackets in China. A French cruiser appears in the background

Chinese, the advent of the foreigner was cast in terms of conquest. True, the conquerors did not overrun the country as might have been the case if they had broken the landward defenses of the Great Wall; they merely penetrated in the trading settlements and at the capital. Compared with the vast area of China the contact seemed slight after all. But although they touch the life of China only here and there, the Chinese know from bitter experience that the foreigners have behind them the might of Western civilization and that the countries which insisted upon these privileges have in the past talked now and again of the partition of China, a process of which the establishment of these settlements seemed to be the first stage.

Extraterritoriality therefore remains in the political consciousness of China as a reminder of the time when it was menaced by European political penetration. It bears the mark of the invasion of Chinese sovereignty. In view of the way in which it came about and of certain chapters of political history

since, no one can blame China for putting the accent on this political aspect of the problem.

Nationalist China, cherishing as it does a political mission, regards the whole issue of extraterritoriality from the political angle. It insists upon the elimination of the symbol of conquest; it demands the recognition of Chinese sovereignty on all the soil of China. The final establishment of a unified republic recognizing a single government from Manchuria to Canton was bound to carry with it the further demand that the authority of that government should be recognized like that of any other government throughout the length and breadth of the land and by all resident therein. There are many factions within the republic, but there is only one opinion concerning this matter of extraterritoriality. All parties are agreed upon it, conservative and reactionary hardly less than those of the extreme left. Between these extremes stands the present government at Nanking, which has definitely set a time limit for the Western powers to act. Already that time limit has passed, for, as already stated, the year 1930 begins a new era without a trace of the humiliation of a forced acceptance of institutions of foreign sovereignty on Chinese soil.

For China the problem is therefore a political one, a question of honor and respect among nations, and the elimination of a constant reminder of inferiority. For the foreigners, those protected by extraterritorial rights, the question arises in an entirely different setting. Their concern is with the protection of life and property and the guarantee of due process of law. They insist that the courts and the police, to which they shall have recourse, should deal with their affairs in terms applicable to the business world which they have left behind them in their own countries. Thus, while China emphasizes the political aspect of the problem, the foreigners in China and the governments behind them have in mind an entirely different problem.

For the Western powers the day of

possible conquest in China has gone forever. No one thinks of it; no one dreams of it. If their governments interfere in the affairs of China at the present time, it is solely to protect their interests there against disorder or organized attack. Outwardly, however, the two actions look much the same; a battleship in the Yangtse to protect the foreigner is very much like a battleship used in an invasion. The Chinese, therefore, naturally have certain reservations when the foreigners protest that the forces which they maintain in China are solely to assure the easy working of the present system. In recent years, the suspicion has tended to concentrate against a single foreign nation, Japan. But unless the other powers find the way to meet the present demands of the Chinese Government within a reasonable time, the unanimity of opinion in China that the day of foreign privilege is over may bring against British and Americans the same hostility with which the Japanese are viewed.

The protestations which all the powers have made against any interpretation of their extraterritorial claims in

China as indicating a present desire to lessen Chinese sovereignty are sincere protestations. There is no longer any thought of conquest in the mind of any power that deals with China. This would seem to be self-evident, yet it needs to be repeated because the memory of the past clouds the whole issue in the minds of the Chinese.

The only concern of any foreign government in dealing with the problem is a concern to protect law and order and business relationships and to safeguard rights that have been acquired in the past by their citizens in dealings with the Chinese. These juristic demands of the foreign powers are not maintained in any spirit hostile to the new Republic of China. Great Britain and the United States, both of which still place conditions before giving up their extraterritorial claims, have, on the other hand, repeatedly stated their political sympathy with the aspirations of a republican and a united China, and these protestations are a true reflex of the public opinion of both countries. Nevertheless, they refuse to yield their citizens in China to the procedure of purely Chinese courts or to surrender with-



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Scottish volunteers on patrol duty in Shanghai

out conditions the rights and privileges under which their business affairs have been built up in those localities where extraterritorial conditions have prevailed. This refusal to surrender has nothing to do with the imperialism of the past. It is based upon practical questions of individual justice and rights, not upon political grounds. It has to do with the protection of property and person, with the dealings of private citizens and with facts that lie within the realm of private, not of public, law.

A glance back into the history of the question through the twentieth century will show, so far as Great Britain and the United States are concerned, that the Chinese on the one hand, and British and Americans on the other, have been thinking of two different things.

Both Great Britain and the United States have definitely stated that it is the juristic aspect of the problem which alone prevents their acceptance of the demand of China that they surrender extraterritorial rights. Great Britain still rests its case substantially on the terms set forth by it on Sept. 5, 1902, when it stated that it would give up extraterritoriality "when the state of Chinese laws and the arrangement for their administration warrants us in so doing." The United States on Oct. 8, 1903, concluded a similar treaty in substantially the same terms and still rests its case on the same conditions. The conditions, it will be noted, are two—in the first place, there must be a modern system of laws; and, in the second place, there must be satisfactory administration of justice.

These treaties were made the basis of action by the Washington conference of 1922, when it called into existence an international commission to study the question of Chinese extraterritoriality and to recommend specific proposals for a juristic reform in China, upon the completion of which the powers would relinquish their extraterritoriality claims. The terms of reference of this commission show clearly the preoccupation of the Western powers. It was to "inquire into the present

practice of extraterritorial jurisdiction in China, and into the laws and the judicial system and the methods of judicial administration of China, with a view to reporting to the governments of the several powers above-named their findings of fact in regard to those matters, and their recommendations as to such means as they may find suitable to improve the existing conditions of the administration of justice in China, and to assist and further the efforts of the Chinese Government to effect such legislation and judicial reforms as would warrant the several powers in relinquishing either progressively or otherwise, their respective rights of extraterritoriality."

The work of this commission was unfortunately interfered with by political disorders in China. The civil wars of the period of revolution were not yet over, and the commission was therefore obliged to bring its labors to a close under conditions which did not promise practical fulfillment of its recommendations. Nevertheless, its report, issued in Peking on Sept. 15, 1926, is the one detailed authoritative statement of the case of the powers. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance to note the recommendations of this commission as furnishing a program for the juristic reform which the powers had consistently and repeatedly stated to be their single concern in the maintenance of extraterritoriality. These recommendations may be summarized as follows:

The powers should give up extraterritoriality in China upon two conditions. In the first place, China should modernize its whole legal system, establishing suitable codes, extending a system of modern courts and modern prisons, and provide adequate financial support for the whole establishment. In the second place, the Chinese judiciary should be protected against unwarranted interference by the executive or other branches of the government, whether civil or military. If these conditions could be carried out, the foreign powers should relinquish their special privileges. Pending abolition,



Times Wide World

Japanese marines on the Shantung Road, Tsingtao

however, special arrangements should be made for mixed courts, in which foreign lawyers would have the right to appear. But they should be brought more and more into accord with the organization and procedure of the modern Chinese judiciary system, and it was laid down that as a general rule the mixed cases should be tried in the modern Chinese courts without the presence of a foreign assessor to watch proceedings. While, therefore, the commission laid down a large program of reform before the powers should relinquish their extraterritorial guarantees, it nevertheless pointed clearly to the path of relinquishment. The powers would renounce their claims when there was a system of modern law for China and the assurance that it would be applied in a modern way.

Of the dual program imposed upon China as a condition of relinquishment of extraterritoriality, the preparation of a system of laws was begun immediately after the British and American Governments had laid down their conditions in 1902 and 1903. By the time the republic was established, in 1911, a good deal of work had been done in the

preparation of various codes, such as the criminal code and the code of civil and criminal procedure. The preparation of commercial and civil codes, however, proved more difficult. Nevertheless, throughout succeeding years and even through the disorders of civil war, the work of the jurists continued, until finally, in the year 1929, the Chinese Government felt justified in announcing that the task of codifying Chinese law in modern terms would be completed by the end of the year. Book I of the code was declared in force on Oct. 10, 1929, and the remaining sections by the end of the year.

There is, therefore, a code of written law borrowed, for the most part, from foreign sources in the absence of native material and, therefore, in theory at least, more applicable to the Europeans in China than to the Chinese themselves. Having honestly and seriously set about meeting what it regarded as the chief condition laid down by the powers, China has asked that now they make good their part of the bargain, accept this law and allow China to apply it to all residents of China. But the answer made by Great Britain and the

United States has been that the preparation of the code fulfills only one of the two conditions laid down by the treaty agreement. Great Britain and the United States had offered to surrender their extraterritorial rights "when the state of Chinese laws and the arrangement for their administration" warranted them in doing so. Now the reform which China has carried through operates only with reference to the "state of the laws," but does not cover the "arrangement for their administration."

China's disappointment at this reply was expressed with the utmost frankness both in formal diplomatic notes and in the writings of its publicists. The first impulse and a most natural one, at least on the part of private Chinese citizens, was to doubt the good faith of Great Britain and the United States and to cast about for some means for asserting the rights which they have established according to the very terms laid down by the Western powers. The reference to Turkey in the diplomatic notes is one that is commonly heard in China in unofficial circles, and indicates a new and somewhat disquieting way of thinking on the part of the leaders of Chinese opinion whose disappointment is at the same time disillusionment. For Turkey took matters in its own hands, denounced the rights of foreigners and went ahead as far as possible to establish its full sovereignty over all in Turkey. The powers yielded before its vigorous initiative; and not only China but all Asia has held this defiance of Turkey to the European powers as indicating a better way to rid themselves of subserviency to the West than by peaceful negotiation.

While the impatience of China is easily understood, nevertheless the foreign powers cannot be charged with having receded from their promises in insisting, as they do, upon adequate provision for the administration of justice, as well as for the codification of the laws. This matter of administration is, after all, more important than the possession of a code. The mere as-

surance of codes by China, however excellent they may be, does not constitute a full and satisfactory fulfillment of the conditions laid down by the British and the American Governments. The law must be administered as well as found.

We therefore still have what seems an absolute *impasse*. On the one hand, China insists upon the relinquishment of foreign guarantees in the administration of justice. On the other hand, the foreigners insist that the administration, even if it be in Chinese hands, must be safeguarded from government interference and not be overrun by militarism or the civil authorities. The foreigners feel that it is not enough to set up a judiciary system, for it may be turned from its purposes by the Chinese authorities themselves and, if they have lost their extraterritoriality, they would have no redress. But the Chinese, on their part, have reached the point where they can no longer admit delay. This is the crisis which confronts China and the outside world at the opening of 1930.

In spite of the apparent confusion and the extent of the problem, reaching as it does through such vast fields of past history and present political interests, the heart of the matter is rather a simple, if difficult, proposition. It reduces itself to the following terms: How can foreigners make sure of the protection of their rights of life and property and still grant to the Chinese Government full and unlimited liberty to apply to them its system of justice? The two things seem mutually contradictory. Yet they must be reconciled in any answer satisfactory to both sides.

At the conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations held at Kyoto, the old capital of Japan, in the opening of November, 1929, a proposal was made for meeting this dilemma, which in principle at least met with the approval of all concerned, Chinese not less than representatives of the foreign residents in China. It was pointed out that the Chinese Government might not object

to the existence of special courts in the areas where foreigners have most thickly settled, such for instance as Canton, Shanghai, Tientsin, Mukden and Harbin and perhaps Peking and some port in the interior, like Hang-kow. At these courts China should continue to build up the system of modern law by the case method, under the advice of jurists chosen "without regard to nationality" by the Chinese Government from a panel chosen by the law associations or other competent non-political bodies in the countries concerned. The plan laid before the Kyoto conference risked a further proposal in putting the appointment in the hands of the World Court, so that Chinese choice of jurists should not be made in political negotiations with other governments, but solely with the highest international legal authority. Further supervision by outside governments over the actual administration of justice by these courts was avoided, but the substance of it was provided for in that the financial arrangements not only for the pay of these jurists but for the whole upkeep of the courts, including their necessary police, prisons and the like, should be registered in treaties with the powers, and the World Court itself could therefore be invoked

for any violation of justice by executive authority or any gross failures in administration.

This proposal, which came from an American source, was accepted in principle by the Japanese present at the conference, although they suggested that the jurists should be attached to the Department of Justice of the central government, instead of to the separate courts, and also that there should be a permanent Commission of Inquiry or Conciliation to deal with disputes arising from the application of the plan, in order to avoid diplomatic incidents.

When at the end of the year China finally announced its denunciation of extraterritoriality it fell back upon the principle of these special courts, offering to develop them as the extension and completion of its judicial reform. Apparently, however, the foreign governments are exploring other possibilities, such as the extension of Chinese law to consular courts during a provisional period of adjustment. It is, however, not part of this survey to attempt to anticipate the future. What has been gained through the Kyoto conference is an analysis of the problem as a whole, which shows that it can be solved if it is taken out of politics and treated where it belongs, in the field of law.

The War Guilt Controversy

I—Criticism of the Findings of the War Guilt Commission

By T. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY

FORMER AMERICAN CONSUL GENERAL AT MUNICH AND DRESDEN

PARAGRAPH 231 of the Treaty of Versailles states:

The Allied and Associated Powers declare, and Germany acknowledges, that Germany and its allies are guilty of having caused all losses and damages which the Allied and Associated Governments and their peoples suffered in consequence of the war which was forced upon them by Germany and its allies.

Not half of one per cent of the voting population of the United States has any knowledge of the circumstances or motives which brought about the insertion of this monstrous article in the so-called peace treaty of Versailles. Nor is it generally known among our people that President Wilson and his two delegates, Robert Lansing and James Brown Scott, were largely responsible for the admission of guilt exacted from the representatives of the German Government at the signing of the treaty.

On Jan. 27, 1919, the preliminary peace conference appointed a commission "to determine the responsibility for the outbreak of the war and to fix the penalties therefor." The commission was to consist of fifteen members, two each from the five great powers and one each from the minor allied States. The quality and impartiality of this tribunal may be estimated from the fact that the Kingdom of Serbia, which was the initial cause of the war, contributed one of the judges. President Wilson designated his Secretary of State, Robert Lansing, and Dr. James Brown Scott, Counselor in the State Department, as the American representatives in this high judicial body. Dr. Scott, who was born a British subject, and his colleague, Mr. Lansing,

were both esteemed as being well versed in international law, which explains their selection.

At the first session of the commission Secretary Lansing was chosen chairman, and both he and Dr. Scott are credited with having conducted its proceedings until the unanimous verdict was handed down.

The commission held its sessions during the months of February and March, and announced its decision on March 19, 1919, in the form of a judicial opinion, as follows:

The war was planned with deliberation by the Central Powers and their allies, Turkey and Bulgaria, and is the result of acts committed with a purpose to make war inevitable. In understanding with Austria-Hungary, Germany deliberately sought to avoid the many mediatory efforts and recommendations and to weaken the repeated efforts of the Entente powers to prevent war.

I may here remark that this commission, in an opinion of six typewritten pages, decided a question, after two months' inquiry, the solution of which has occupied the greatest historians in all countries during the past ten years.

Thousands of publications have appeared and are still appearing which treat of this problem. These publications are the result of the tireless efforts of scholars and investigators whose names are a guarantee of good faith and are familiar the world over. Among the American authors of distinction who have repudiated this verdict, I may mention Professors Burgess, Beard, Barnes, Cochran, Fay, Langer and Schevill, Judge Bausman,

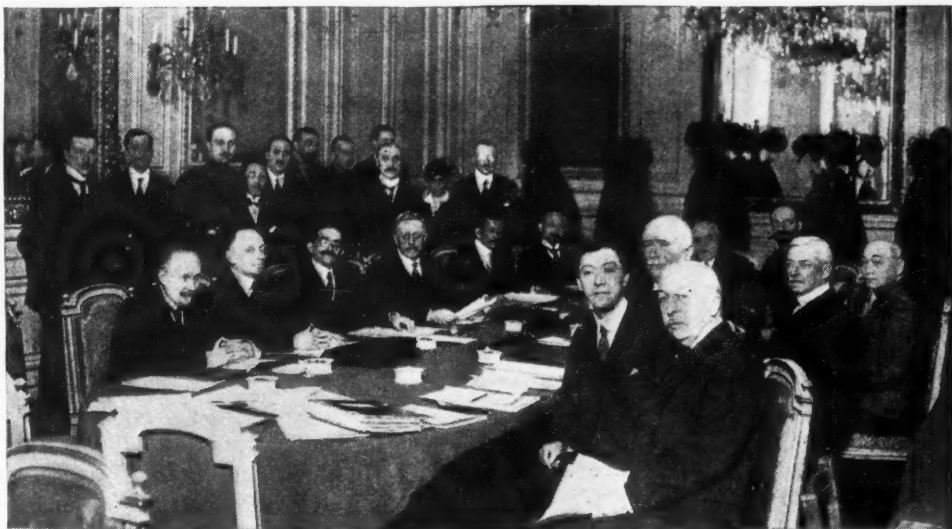
former United States Senator Owen and A. J. Nock.

It is now conceded that this partisan commission violated all the fundamental rules of law and evidence and the safeguarding principles which assure the discovery of truth and a just verdict. American judges who conducted proceedings in American courts as Messrs. Lansing and Scott did on this commission would subject themselves to impeachment. There is now no question that the fifteen judges, including the presiding officer, Lansing, ignored all constitutional provisions and the accepted rules of procedure as they prevail in the statute books of their own and all other civilized States. Above all, they violated the cardinal rules that no one shall act as judge in his own case and that no one should be condemned without a hearing. It is a principle of jurisprudence that no case can be honestly decided solely on the testimony of the complaining party and without hearing the other side. At no time during the sessions of this commission did the American delegates propose that the Germans be heard, nor did they seek information or evidence in

their behalf from a single authorized person. This procedure is certainly not in accord with the American standard of justice, fair play and professional ethics. Furthermore, the fact that Serbia, immediate cause of the war, was allowed to sit as a judge on such a tribunal paralyzes credulity.

But Lansing and Scott not only identified themselves with the statements and deductions approved by the commission; they went further in declaring that "the war had arisen in consequence of Austria-Hungary's deliberate intention to destroy 'a brave little country'—Serbia."

Responsible historians and war writers now admit that the commission's verdict was based upon vengeance, forgery and falsehood; has no legality morally, politically or historically, and is valueless in an investigation of the causes of the war. It is significant that this vitally important verdict, the foundation stone of the Versailles Treaty, is never quoted or even referred to by Entente apologists. The most astounding feature of this remarkable document is that the Russian mobilization, which all historians consider as the



Underwood

THE "WAR GUILT" COMMISSION

The committee appointed at the Versailles Conference in 1919 to fix responsibility for the war. The American members, Robert Lansing and James Brown Scott, are at the extreme right

chief cause of the outbreak of the war, is never mentioned, although the facts of the case were at the disposal of the commission.

The words "forgeries and falsifications" have been used above deliberately. It has been shown that Lansing and Scott, in their zeal to secure the judgment they desired, presented to the commission certain documents which were afterward exposed as falsifications. These included the well-known extract from the von Wiesner document and the Lerchenfeld papers. Alluding to the conduct of the American delegates in arbitrarily lifting a paragraph from this report, Baron von Wiesner declared as follows in CURRENT HISTORY for July, 1928:

According to the citation of Messrs. Robert Lansing and James Brown Scott, the impression was given that I had declared Serbia to be completely guiltless, while, on the contrary, I made a very clear statement regarding the serious charges which could be proved against Serbia. Through this false quotation of my telegram the American delegation introduced great confusion into the question of war guilt and laid on the government of the monarchist régime an accusation which was wholly without justification. My appeal to Messrs. Lansing and Brown Scott to clarify the origin of this quotation has to the present, unfortunately, remained unanswered.

The Lerchenfeld document has been denied officially, and falsifications in connection therewith have been proved in court proceedings. Twelve foreign experts gave testimony during the Fechenbach trial in Munich, including the French historian, Professor Edward Dujardin of the Sorbonne, who gave the following opinion:

It is my conviction that the text which the *Bayrische Staats Zeitung* has published is one of the most ambiguous and unscrupulous forgeries in history.

This was the counterfeit text utilized by the American delegates. Apologists for Lansing and Scott have offered in excuse for their action that they had no knowledge at the time that these documents were falsifications, and that

they accepted them in good faith. This explanation, of course, implies a grave reflection on the judicial competency of the American delegates. One would imagine that the fact that the papers emanated from the Serbian Legation in Paris and were handed to them by the Serbian Minister would have stimulated caution and aroused suspicion, but there appears to have been no limit, at that time, to the credulity of these two American international lawyers.

A long time has elapsed since the truth in regard to these documents has seen the light, and yet Mr. Lansing, during his lifetime, although repeatedly challenged, failed to offer any explanation or apology.

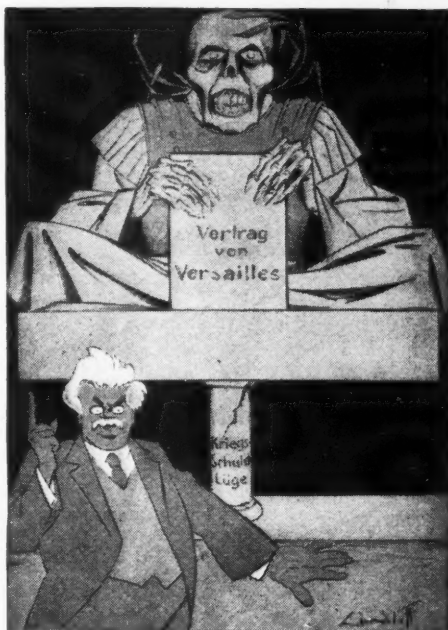
Dr. Scott, who is, happily, still living, has also remained silent. During the Summer of 1928 an effort was made by the faculty of Heidelberg University to obtain an opinion from him. The eminent rector of that famous institution addressed a polite note to the learned doctor, asking him if he still adhered to his original judgment in view of the revelations and official and other evidence that had been brought to light in recent years. Dr. Scott replied that as he was a representative of the American Government on the commission he could not withdraw or modify his verdict so long as his government had not changed its attitude on the subject. Dr. Scott, therefore, puts the matter definitely up to the American Government of today, which is fortunately not laboring under the influence of the myths, hysteria and prejudices of the wartime administration. His statement shows, however, how necessary it is in the cause of justice and historical truth that this question should no longer be ignored.

The amount of space at my disposal will not permit me to deal with all the deductions and conclusions of this commission. One prominent feature of the report was the allegation that Germany had planned a "dark conspiracy against the peace of Europe," which has been completely disproved by the documentary evidence now at our disposal. General W. H. H. Waters, a dis-

tinguished English officer of the World War, in the October number of the *London Quarterly Review*, made the following statement: "I have studied in four languages masses of official secret pre-war documents published since the war. They confirm Mr. Lloyd George's reported remark of 1920 that the 'myth' of a German conspiracy to bring on war was exploded." Scores of similar opinions from American, neutral and Entente authorities have been published.

Another ridiculous paragraph, alleging that the Kaiser premeditated the war, reads as follows: "Many months before the crisis of 1914 the German Emperor had ceased to pose as the champion of peace. Naturally believing in the overwhelming superiority of his army, he openly showed his enmity to France." As a matter of fact—and of this the Kaiser could not have been ignorant—the official statistics of the strength of the armies of the opposing groups establishes the superiority of the Franco-Russian forces over the Central Powers by 1,712,000 men. I may also state that the Entente outlay for military and naval purposes during the ten years previous to the war almost doubled that of the Central Powers. The alleged Potsdam War Council, associated with the name of Ambassador Morgenthau, also figured prominently in the Lansing-Scott report, with other myths and legends which have been already sufficiently exposed.

A book by the noted authority on war guilt, Alfred von Wegerer, called *Die Widerlegung der Versailler Kriegsschuldthese* (The Refutation of the Versailles War Guilt Thesis), deals in detail with all the evidence and will soon be available in English. It is a devastating analysis of the report, and no attempt has been made by Entente historians to refute his statements or conclusions. In fact, evidence of such volume has come from the archives of the European powers that it is now generally admitted that scarcely a single fact upon which the commission based its verdict can be sustained in the light of the undisputed proofs



Kladderadatsch, Berlin

TABOO

Ex-President Millerand of France: "We will allow no one to touch it" (A German cartoonist portrays the Versailles Treaty built on the foundation of the "war guilt lie")

which exist today. The whole presumption flowing from this report, indeed, and the way in which it was drafted and formulated, points to but one conclusion—a conclusion, be it said, confirmed by all the new evidence that has come to light in recent years and by the opinion of a number of eminent scholars—that the victors, in order to justify the punitive provisions of the treaty, the impossible reparations demanded, the robbery of private property and the seizure of German colonies and provinces, all of which was inconsistent with Wilson's fourteen points, decided to extort, willy-nilly, and on any sort of "evidence" obtainable (even fraudulent and spurious!), an admission of guilt from the defeated nations.

The verdict of this commission, in which Lansing and Scott figured so prominently, and its poisonous effect on international peace and friendship,

have done more to keep alive hatred and hysteria than any other cause. A true reconciliation of the peoples of Europe is impossible until the verdict is annulled and Article CCXXXI is expunged from the Versailles Treaty.

The responsibility of our government for this guilt article arises primarily from the appointment by President Wilson of Lansing and Scott on the commission which adjudged Germany solely guilty of the war. On March 29, 1921, the American Government made its first official declaration in the war guilt question in a note concerning reparations addressed to the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, containing the following statement:

This government stands with the governments of the Allies in holding Germany responsible for the war and therefore morally bound to make reparations so far as may be possible.

Furthermore, the peace treaty between the United States and Germany, signed Nov. 14, 1921, confirmed this attitude by making Article CCXXXI of the Versailles Treaty an integral part of our treaty, as is apparent from Article II, Part 1 of our treaty, which reads:

With a view to defining more particularly the obligations of Germany under the foregoing article, with respect to certain provisions in the Treaty of Versailles, it is understood and agreed between the high contracting parties:

(1) That the rights and advantages stipulated in that treaty for the benefit of the United States, which it is intended the United States shall have and enjoy, are those defined in Section 1 of Part LV, and Parts V, VI, VIII (1), IX, X, XI, XII, XIV and XV.

The preamble of Part VIII dealing with war guilt, to which the treaty specifically refers, is the objectionable Article 231.

As an evidence of the hysteria which characterized Lansing, the presiding judge of this high commission, I submit the following extract from a resolution proposed by him March 12, 1919, to that body. It is recorded by his colleague, Dr. Scott, in the volume *What*

Happened in Paris, edited by Colonel House and Professor Seymour, so it must be authentic. This resolution read as follows:

The war which was begun in 1914 was unrighteous and indefensible. It was a war of aggression. The masters of the Central Powers, inflamed by the passion to possess the territory and sovereignty of others, entered upon a war of conquest, a war which in magnitude, in waste of life and property, in merciless cruelties and intolerable woes, surpasses all wars of modern times. *The evidence of this moral crime against mankind is convincing and conclusive.*

* * * The authors of this atrocious war ought not to pass unscathed into history. They should be summoned before the bar of universal public opinion to listen to the verdict which mankind passes upon the perpetrators of the greatest crime against the world. Therefore, in the name of those who sacrificed their lives that liberty might live, in the names of the helpless who endured unspeakable atrocities, in the name of those whose ruined and plundered lands bear witness to the wickedness of the accused, in the name of humanity, of righteousness and civilization, an outraged world denounces, as infamous, and demands the judgment of the ages against William of Hohenzollern, once German Emperor and King of Prussia.

This fantastic and grotesque declaration, from the pen of the chairman of the Commission on War Responsibilities, is without parallel in the whole sordid story of the peace conference. It is convincing evidence that Mr. Lansing did not possess the impartial and objective attitude which would be required from any man acting in a judicial capacity.

It might be argued that in view of the fact that the thesis of sole German war guilt is no longer seriously maintained, and that it is now generally admitted by competent authorities that the Allies had an equal, if not a greater, share of responsibility for the war's origin, the chief cost of the calamity should not be imposed on that power, particularly after depriving her of her colonies and some of her most valuable

and productive provinces. But leaving aside such argument, we are at least entitled, in view of the facts brought out in this article, showing the basis of the War Guilt Commission's verdict, to ask this question: Why does our government, by its silence, continue to condone and perpetuate in Europe a condition of injustice which it now knows to be founded on the false judgment of a partisan commission?

Is it any wonder that in these circumstances the world views with skepticism our ardent professions in favor of peace? A true reconciliation of the peoples is impossible so long as this spirit prevails in our own and the Entente Cabinets, and so long as the sanctions of the Versailles Treaty, based as they are, and especially the guilt clause, on fraud and hypocrisy, continue to constitute the controlling factor in the existing European order.

Is not the writing plainly shadowed on the wall, that all our well-meant efforts, exemplified by Kellogg pacts and disarmament conferences, will prove futile and ineffectual unless a radical change of policy is soon adopted? Otherwise we may find ourselves marching on the way to future wars under the banner of Peace.

My whole point of view in this matter is most convincingly set forth in the "Concurrent Resolution," submitted on Jan. 7, 1929, to the American

Senate by Senator Shipstead. This resolution was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. After quoting Article 231 of the Versailles Treaty and pointing out that the United States was a party to it through the signature of its two delegates, Mr. Lansing, the chairman, and James Brown Scott, the resolution continues as follows:

Resolved, by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives are hereby authorized and directed (1) to hold an inquiry, either separately or jointly, for the purpose of determining whether in view of the new evidence and other official material the time is appropriate for the American Government, inspired by the sense of justice and fair play, to recommend to the Allied Powers either to amend Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles without further delay or to announce severally their intention to disregard it or to propose to the Allied Powers that the question of the responsibility for the World War be submitted to a commission of neutrals, and (2) to report to the Congress the result of such inquiry on or before March 4, 1929.

This resolution was never acted upon, but the duty of the United States, and the danger to international comity and peace, remain unchanged.

II—Restatement of Germany's Share of War Responsibility

By PRESTON WILLIAM SLOSSON

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

COUNTING ARTICLES, letters and the more important book reviews, CURRENT HISTORY has, since 1914, discussed in its columns the "war guilt question" more than a hundred times. Very few responsible statesmen of the war period or the peace conference, and very few historians who have made the World War their specialty, remain unrepresented in its pages. Other periodicals dealing with current events have also given much space to this in-

terminable discussion, and in Europe three or four periodicals are wholly devoted to it. Books on the subject would fill a large library. More documentary material has appeared on this one question (largely as a consequence of the opening up of the Russian, Austrian, German and British archives) than on any other historical problem, and we know more about the origins of the World War, recent as it was, than about the origins of any other major interna-

tional conflict. The controversy is already a weariness, but none of us are likely to live long enough to see the end of it. After all, an event which took the lives of some 7,000,000 young men and altered the frontiers and constitutions of two-thirds of Europe is momentous enough to excuse the labor of a thousand pens exploring for its origins.

The famous Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles, however, has played a part in the controversy far beyond its actual importance. Recently a group of fanatical irreconcilables in Germany attempted unsuccessfully by referendum to negate "the war guilt lie" in the treaty, as though a popular vote could either alter true history or disprove false history! Dr. Alfred von Wegerer labored in *CURRENT HISTORY* for August, 1928, to construct a sort of logical house-that-Jack-built to the effect that the whole Versailles Treaty of Peace and its claims for reparation rested on Article 231, which in turn rested on the report of the committee on responsibility at Versailles, which in turn rested on certain documents which have since been shown to be incomplete, misleading and partially falsified. In my reply in the same issue I pointed out that even granting the last step in this sequence by no means conceded the rest. The committee did *not* base its conclusions on the few documents formally laid before it; it reached its verdict, as any one knowing human nature might have guessed, on the entire knowledge of its members from whatever source derived. The members of the committee did not bring blank minds into the committee room. Many of them had grown gray in first-hand dealings with diplomacy for decades and had no need of borrowing their opinions, right or wrong, from a few selected scraps of paper.

Nor did Article 231 depend on the report of the committee in question. As a matter of historical fact the article was not intended to solve the question of war guilt or put a legal brand on Germany; it was merely a compromise between those who wished to demand all war costs from Germany and those who

desired to limit reparations to the pre-armistice basis of damage to civilian life and property. The compromise arrived at was to hold Germany theoretically accountable for all damages done by her aggression, that is, invasion, and then, as a practical matter, limit payment to certain listed categories of damage. Reparations rather than responsibilities were uppermost in the minds of the authors of the much-discussed article. Is any one naïve enough to suppose that the Entente Allies would not have asked Germany to restore a single farmhouse in France if a war-guilt commission had reported in slightly different terms as to the abstract guilt of the Kaiser and his Ministers? The Treaty of Versailles would have been substantially the same from beginning to end if the committee had never met at all. What the terms of peace will be in *any* war depends not on how the war started, but on how it ended!

If my interpretation of Article 231 is thought individual or eccentric, permit me to quote from an American scholar whom all the world concedes to be one of the best authorities on international politics, Raymond Leslie Buell:

Some writers go as far as to state that since the recent publication of official documents shows that Germany was not solely responsible for causing the World War, the peace treaty which was, in their opinion, based on that premise falls to the ground. But there is no agreement among the scholars even yet as to the allocation of war guilt. While there are few if any students who still maintain that Germany was "solely" responsible, many of them still accord to Germany the major responsibility. It is doubtful whether the appointment of a commission of historians from neutral countries would clarify the question. * * * Even if this question could be satisfactorily answered it would not affect the validity of the Treaty of Versailles. Resentment against Article 231 of that treaty arises partly out of a strained interpretation of that article. The treaty merely holds Germany responsible for causing the *damage* to the Allies as a *consequence* of the war caused by German aggression. It does not impose sole responsibility upon Germany for causing the war. Technically, Germany was the

aggressor, but this is very different from being solely responsible. * * * Germany's liability in this respect rises out of the damage which her invading troops actually caused. (Buell, *Europe: A History of Ten Years*, 396-97.)

Numerous other scholars have written to the same effect. I, for one, would be glad to see Article 231 reworded so as to satisfy Germany that it did not pre-judge the general issue of war responsibility, but except for satisfying German sentiment no change in the treaty could be of less practical importance.

Passing on from the origin of Article 231 to the more general and much more important question of what historical research has done to fix war responsibility, I must express some perhaps discourteous doubts of the competence of any one to contribute to the subject who lumps into one sentence as his witnesses "Professors Burgess, Beard, Barnes, Cochran, Fay, Langer and Schevill, Judge Bausman, former United States Senator Owen and A. J. Nock." Some of these men lay the main responsibility on Austria; some divide it equally between both belligerent groups; some make Russia the villain of the piece, some England. Some of them, notably Professors Beard, Fay, Langer and Schevill, are scholars of high repute; others, such as ex-Senator Owen, have no such special qualifications to give weight to their opinions.

The ablest of this conglomerate group of "revisionists" is beyond question Professor Sidney B. Fay. He has done more to vindicate the reputation of Germany from the deeper shades of guilt than any other historian. But how far he stands from such partisans as Professor Barnes or Judge Bausman may be judged from his considered and reiterated opinion that Count Berchtold, who single-handed directed Austro-Hungarian foreign policy during the crisis of 1914, "more than any one else was responsible for the World War" (*The Origins of the World War*, I, 18), and his judgment on the German statesmen is: "They gave Austria a free hand and made the grave mistake of putting the situation outside of their

control into the hands of a man as reckless and unscrupulous as Berchtold. * * * In so doing they were incurring a grave responsibility for what happened later" (*The Origins of the World War*, II, 223).

Other historians of equal competence, such as Professor Bernadotte Schmitt of Chicago, and Pierre Renouvin (whose *Immediate Origins of the War* Professor Fay declared in review to be "quite the best comprehensive treatment in any language which he has read on this difficult and thorny subject"), go much further than Professor Fay as to the share of responsibility which Germany must bear. And yet we are told that "it is now generally admitted by competent authorities that the Allies had an equal, if not a greater, share of responsibility for the war's origin"!

If the facts (save in a few points of detail) are widely known and much discussed, why, then, is it that scholars differ so widely as to the apportionment of war responsibility? In reply I might ask whether the world is yet any closer to an agreement as to the rights and wrongs of the wars of Napoleon and of Frederick the Great. The same facts will not impress two observers with the same force. To about half of the historians the most significant fact in the war situation of 1914 was Russia's mobilization, which transformed a Balkan crisis into a world crisis. To an equally large and competent group, Germany's unconditional offer of support to Austria, the rejection of the British peace intervention and the declaration of war on France and Russia while negotiations were still proceeding and peace still possible seem even more significant. But nobody with an opinion worth hearing believes any longer either in a Pan-German conspiracy to conquer the world or in an Entente conspiracy to attack a peaceful Germany. Such myths may serve patrioteers in war time or ill-informed journalists and politicians after a war, but they have no standing in the courts of science.

My personal opinion, in 1914, in 1919 and 1930 alike, has been determined

less by what Entente propagandists have said than by the weakness of the Austro-German case as presented by its own advocates. When von Jagow, the German Foreign Minister of 1914, could make no better defense for supporting the reckless Austrian policy at all hazards than that "a fresh diminution of our prestige was not endurable for our position in Europe and the world" (see his reply to the Lichnowsky *Memorandum*) he was virtually confessing that a diplomatic triumph was dearer to him than the peace of the world. And the Kaiser's own marginal comments on dispatches are far more damaging to his cause than the worst his critics have said about him.

It is impossible for me to believe that the liberal, pacific and democratic forces now happily in control of the destinies of the German Republic (or even a conservative statesman who had the shrewdness of a Bismarck) could not have cooperated with such men as

Asquith, Haldane and Grey to have averted the war in 1914, or better yet, have allayed ten years before that event the growing national jealousies which led Europe to the abyss, for most of the mischief was done long before the fatal year. If, as I believe, Berchtold was the chief author of the war, I would place in second order of guilt Holstein, who first dug the chasm between Germany and Great Britain by his bitterly anti-British policy in the 1890s, and third in rank Wilhelm II who probably desired peace but whose inconstancy of policy and spurts of nervous irritation placed him at the mercy of the war party in both Germany and Austria. Russia, doubtless, had statesmen quite as reckless; but circumstances put the initiative for peace or war in 1914 in the hands of Austria and of Austria's patron and "big brother," Germany, and where the power to decide a crisis lies must lie as well the main responsibility.

III—Revelations in the Newly Published Austrian Documents

By ALFRED VON WEGERER

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ON DEC. 1, 1929, the Commission for the More Recent History of Austria published, with official sanction, the diplomatic documents of the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office.* This vast and most important collection is a counterpart to the monumental work, *Die Grosse Politik der europäischen Kabinette 1871-1914*, completed by the German Government at the end of 1926, as well as to the collection of British and French archives now in process of publication. It comprises eight volumes, containing 11,204 documents concerning the events

leading to the outbreak of the World War.

The editing of the Austrian State documents was undertaken by Professor Ludwig Bittner and Professor Hans Uebersberger of Vienna. Professor Alfred Francis Pribram (author of *Austria-Hungary's Foreign Policy 1908-1918*, London, 1923), and Professor von Srbik, the present Austrian Minister of Public Instruction, assisted in the selection of the documents. Among the documents included there are also a large number of private letters written by leading statesmen. These make it possible for the reader to obtain an insight into the most intimate details of Austrian foreign policy as conducted from the Ballplatz at Vienna.

The documents begin with the diplomatic preparation of the annexation of

**Oesterreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik von der bosnischen Krise 1908 bis zum Kriegsausbruch 1914*. Diplomatic documents of the Austro-Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Published by the Austrian Bundesverlag für Unterricht, Wissenschaft und Kunst, Vienna, 1930. Eight vols.

the two Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Austria-Hungary, by virtue of the Treaty of Berlin, had exercised the right of occupation in these two provinces since 1878, and had done a great deal for the civilization of the country. After the revolution in Turkey in the Summer of 1908, the problem as to how the administrative relations of the two countries should be regulated under the new democratic régime, and whether the rights of occupation should be exercised in the Sanjak of Novi Pazar lying between Serbia and Montenegro, had become urgent for Austria. The urgency of this question was due to the fact that the two provinces might some day take the regulating of their destinies into their own hands, and thus force Austria either to give up its occupation or to defend its rights to the two provinces by an appeal to arms. The Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Count Aehrenthal, in a private letter to the Austrian Am-



PROFESSOR HANS UEBERS-
BERGER



PROFESSOR LUDWIG BITT-
NER

bassador at Constantinople, Count Pallavicini, described the situation in the following words:

As you see, my dear Pallavicini, it can no longer be for us merely a question of "quieta non movere." Neither in the Sanjak nor in Bosnia are things at all settled as yet, and if we fail to act we shall no longer have control over events. Here and there the situation has, as I may confide to you in strictest secrecy, led me to think of definitely withdrawing our troops from the Sanjak and of renouncing the rights allotted to us in that region by the Treaty of Berlin. I should at the same time proclaim the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. (Document 47.)

It was, therefore, by no means a policy of adventure, as Professor S. B. Fay in his well-known book, *The Origins of the World War*, assumes, that caused Count Aehrenthal to make preparations for the annexation of the two provinces, but was a "compulsory position" created by the circumstances, a position that brooked no delay. The Dual Monarchy, after careful deliberations that have become known to us

only now that the minutes of the Ministerial Councils have been published, came to the decision to give up the occupation of the Sanjak and to change the rights of occupation in Bosnia and Herzegovina into downright annexation. Even if we grant that the relinquishing of the occupation rights in the Sanjak was in the main attributable to the uncertain military position, we are nevertheless justified in the opinion that in doing this the Dual Monarchy was not following the Eastern policy sometimes wrongly attributed to her—a policy which had the seizure of Saloniki as its objective.

Considering the manner in which the annexation was carried out in 1908, there was in many quarters a doubt as to how far Austria had actually obtained the consent of Russia during the conversations which the Austrian Foreign Minister, Count Aehrenthal, had had with the Russian Foreign Minister Isvolski in Buchlau. From the notes of these conversations now published it becomes clear that the annexation question and everything connected with it had been talked over in detail by the two statesmen, and that they had in principle reached a mutual agreement. Count Aehrenthal also told Isvolski that he was reckoning with the possibility of pronouncing the annexation "as early as the first days of October." Later on Isvolski blamed Aehrenthal and maintained that he (Isvolski) had been taken by surprise by Austria, but this was probably true only in so far as Isvolski had failed to secure the *quid pro quo* granted him by Austria, viz., free passage for Russian ships of war through the Dardanelles. Isvolski's disappointment over this matter was due to Grey's refusal to grant any such thing, while on the other hand Aehrenthal was unwilling to jeopardize his own projects by deferring his plans for any considerable time. The attitude of irritation manifested by Isvolski toward Aehrenthal after this incident was, in the exaggerated form it took, certainly insincere, and was due to a desire to excuse his failure to realize his political intentions in the eyes of his

own country. Isvolski's ill-humor, furthermore, had this result, that Serbia after the annexation took no trouble to conceal her annoyance with Austria; for Serbia now felt sure that she had the sympathy of Russia. If Isvolski had not been so slow in swallowing his disappointment over the annexation—an annexation for which he in principle bore the responsibility—the Serbians would probably have remained quiet, and the sharp tension which marked the politics of the two countries in the following years would not have prevailed between Vienna and Belgrade.

It is surprising to note that the Austrian documents contain a number of important utterances concerning England and especially King Edward's attitude on the question. These utterances reveal the crowned diplomat acting as a very busy agitator in favor of war. The Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at Paris, Count Khevenhueller, for example, on Nov. 11, 1908, reports words that were to prove prophetic of 1914:

I had in the meantime learned from a highly confidential source that England was giving very harmful advice in this matter. She wanted to drive France into a war. Clemenceau and Pichon were told that the moment for revenge had arrived and that such a favorable moment would never again occur as Austria-Hungary was busily engaged on her Balkan front. They were told she was but little in a position to help Germany as an ally. Germany now stood alone against Russia, France and England, and it would be possible to get Italy to withdraw from fulfilling her obligations as an ally. (Document 550.)

Another proof that England was also fomenting trouble in the Balkans is given by a conversation that took place between M. Milovanovitch, the Serbian Foreign Minister, and M. Bratianu, the Rumanian Foreign Minister. This conversation was communicated by the King of Rumania to the Austrian Ambassador in Bucharest, Prince von Schönburg. The Prince's report on the matter runs as follows (Document 1747):

When M. Bratianu thereupon spoke to M. Milovanovitch, so His Majesty told me, the latter expressly declared that it

**COUNT BERCHTOLD**

Foreign Minister of Austria, 1912-15

was not Russia that had urged Serbia to resistance during the annexation crisis, but England. Whenever such advice had been received from London, it had, to be sure, always wound up with "Sans toute fois faire la guerre." [Without, however, waging war.]

But there are other utterances of a similar character. In a confidential private letter of Aehrenthal's dated Dec. 15, 1908, we learn that the peace-disturbing activities of Edward VII, had apparently got even on Clemenceau's nerves. This letter, for example, says:

On the other hand, I learn from a source worthy of all confidence that according to the utterance of an intimate friend of Clemenceau's, now staying in Vienna, King Edward in the past two months has made the utmost efforts to get Clemenceau to give to the Anglo-French entente an offensive point against Germany. Clemenceau's friend says that Clemenceau himself is greatly embittered about this matter, and that he declared that he could not follow English policy along this path, and that he would have to think out ways and means adapted to strip the Anglo-

French entente of the warlike tendency that King Edward would fain give it. (Document 744.)

These utterances go to show what difficulties were thrown in the way of Austria-Hungary even by the great powers with whom that country had, strictly speaking, no actual points of friction. England's unfriendly treatment of Austria was, of course, one of the consequences of the tension between Germany and England, a tension for which the Dual Monarchy had to pay as well as Germany.

The Austrian documents now published make it even clearer than do the German documents that the alliance between Germany and Austria was by no means of a character calculated to further a common policy of attack, to say nothing of a policy of conspiracy. In many of the documents which were exchanged between Vienna and Berlin a discrepancy becomes manifest in their methods of judging Balkan politics. Germany overestimated Rumania, and remarked much later than did the Dual Monarchy that this clandestine ally

**COUNT AEHRENTHAL**

Foreign Minister of Austria, 1906-12

was showing signs of secession. Bulgaria, too, was very differently estimated by the two powers. As regards Serbia, the German Government, and especially Emperor William, seem to have been under various illusions concerning the impossibility of whose fulfillment the Austrians could never have had a moment's doubt. Germany's efforts toward a rapprochement with Russia were viewed with suspicion in Vienna, and the "Potsdam bogey," as people dubbed the meeting between the Emperor William and the Czar in 1910, proved visibly detrimental to the good relations between Berlin and Vienna. To what a point the disharmony between the two allies went is revealed in the report of Count Szapary, the Austrian Ambassador at St. Petersburg, dated Oct. 2, 1912. Count Szapary complained of the lack of support shown by Germany for Austria's policy in the Near East during the Balkan War, and ventured the conjecture that Germany would under certain circumstances hasten "to devote its activities to the cause of Austria's opponents" (Document 3991).

Passing now to the actual outbreak of the war, we may recall the fact that the war between Austria and Serbia, regarded from a strictly formal standpoint, broke out because Serbia declined to comply with the demands made by Austria in its ultimatum of July 23, 1914. This ultimatum demanded that Austrian officials should be allowed to take part in the investigation that was to be held concerning the Sarajevo assassination. On receiving Serbia's refusal, Austria broke off diplomatic relations with the Belgrade Government and in order to forestall an intervention of the powers declared war on July 28, 1914.

The American delegation which took part in the investigation that was conducted at Paris in 1919 into the question of responsibility for the war came, as is well known, to the conclusion that the war "had come about in consequence of the deliberate intention of Austria-Hungary and Germany to destroy this brave little country (Serbia)

that blocked the way to the Dardanelles and prevented the realization of their ambitious plans." This conclusion was reached on the strength of a passage in a telegram signed by Dr. von Wiesner, who had been sent to Sarajevo to investigate the crime. In this telegram it was stated that it was to be regarded as out of the question that the Serbian Government had been cognizant of the plot to assassinate the Archduke.

The view taken by the American delegation completely collapses, however, when confronted with the newly published Austrian documents. Like a red thread we see running through these documents the fact that Serbia, supported by Russia, and encouraged by England, was intriguing in the parts of the dual monarchy inhabited by the South Slavs, and that the object of these intrigues was to bring about a Pan-Serbian national State. The danger that threatened Austria-Hungary from this quarter consisted not only in the secession of the two provinces, Bosnia and Herzegovina, but in the menace that through these Pan-Slavic intrigues other parts of the dual monarchy where South Slavs were living, especially Croatia and Dalmatia, might become disaffected. The dual monarchy probably wanted to prevent Serbia from setting up on her frontiers a "magnetic centre of attraction" for the South Slavs, but this interest never went so far as to contemplate the annexation of Serbian territory. From reasons of internal policy alone, a fact that is unfortunately mostly overlooked, the Austrians would have been quite "at a loss to know what they were to do with the new territory thus gained." (Document 1720.)

A success for the Pan-Slavic propaganda would have meant the dissolution of Austria-Hungary. The organs of the movement were various secret bodies, "Slovenski Jug," "Narodna Odbrana," and especially the "Black Hand." The government tolerated and supported these organizations and, as becomes evident from the newly published documents, the Serbian Court, too, had connections with the "Black Hand." (Document 3590.) It was re-

ported to Count Berchtold by Count Pallavicini as late as July 15, 1914, that according to a communication received from M. Rizoff, the Bulgarian Minister in Rome, who had formerly been in Cetinje, he (M. Rizoff) was firmly convinced "that Serbian officer circles as well as the Crown Prince Alexander were mixed up in the nefarious assassination of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand." (Document 10282.) Alexander, the second son of King Peter of Serbia, is now King of Yugoslavia.

It is probably correct that there was bitter disagreement on various points between the Serbian Government and the "Black Hand." That does not alter the fact, however, that the Pasitch Government not only endorsed all purely Nationalist efforts put forth by this organization, but also supported such efforts. It is therefore impossible to acquit the Serbian Government of a share in the responsibility for the assassination of the Archduke Heir Apparent that was prepared and carried out by the "Black Hand." If the government felt itself too weak to put a stop to the "Black Hand," Austria could not be expected to take any such considerations into account.

On perusing the new documents, the reader is fully entitled to ask how it was possible that the Austrian Government in 1914 should not have made a single mention of the "Black Hand" when setting forth its justification for its action against Serbia. The sad truth is that the government had not brought the material in question to Herr von Wiesner's cognizance.

One might well on these grounds come to the tragical conclusion that if the documents that are now made accessible had been included in the dossier of the Austrian Government, the attitude of the great powers might have been different. But such optimism is, after all, unfounded, seeing that the great powers in 1914 had not even

taken the trouble to read the evidence put into their hands, at a somewhat late moment; it is true, by the Ballplatz.

To sum up the impressions gained from the new Austrian documents concerning the responsibility for the outbreak of war, we may ask how a State with the traditions of the old Habsburg monarchy, a State at the head of which there was a monarch to whom no one could think of denying the highest esteem, could overlook a challenge from a little Balkan State in which criminal organizations had got the upper hand? How could it overlook a challenge that took the form of the crime of Sarajevo, and how could it overlook the subsequent attitude of the Belgrade Government? Any one who believes that the differences between the two States could have been settled by a court of arbitration only shows that he has no conception of what we call history. One may hold the opinion that the State composed of heterogeneous nationalities, the State erected on a dynastic foundation, has outlived its day. But one will not on this ground be justified in regarding as a crime the action of the Dual Monarchy in having recourse to arms at the last moment in order to defend its very existence. One must be just to Serbia, too, and not shut one's eyes to the fact that the Belgrade Government after its easy victory over the Turks, and after receiving the encouragement and support of Czaristic Russia, also wished to unite the other Slav districts of that part of Europe with the new national movement. But even though, bearing in mind the aim pursued, and considering it with the eyes of an historian, we may be able to understand the aspirations of the Slavs, we shall, unless we are willing to abandon the very foundations of our civilization, be compelled to repudiate all such methods as those employed by Serbia against Austria-Hungary.

"The Wandering Scholars" of the Present Day

By ARCHIE M. PALMER

ASSOCIATE SECRETARY, ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN COLLEGES; FORMERLY ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

A CONSERVATIVE ESTIMATE would place the number of students from foreign lands who are this year studying in institutions of higher education in the United States at well over 10,000. In addition to those entering colleges, universities and technical institutes there are probably at least several thousand others who have come to this country to pursue preparatory courses in the secondary and other schools lower than college grade, which would swell the total to approximately 15,000. This army of young men and women studying in a foreign land represents what is perhaps the largest student migration in the history of the world. Even in the last decade of the nineteenth century, when Germany occupied a pre-eminent place in its attractiveness for foreign students, the number studying in German universities and other higher institutions never approached this figure. Nor did the migrations to France in the post-war years ever exceed more than 7,000 or 8,000 foreign students. In the Far East there have been similar currents of student migration between China and Japan. In 1898 the first two Chinese students were officially dispatched to Japan, but ten years later the number had grown to approximately 10,000. Since then, however, the tide has steadily receded.

Before the invention of the printing press opened the broad road to popular education, the acquisition of knowledge was no easy task. We have the story of the "vagantes," the wandering students of the Middle Ages who went from town to town in search of learning and, still

more, of adventure, often begging their way and leading anything but exemplary lives. Their masters also moved about. This shifting from place to place of teachers and students during the medieval period, which did so much to spread learning and good-will, was greatly facilitated by the existence of a common international language, medieval Latin. It is to these migrations that the university as an institution probably owes its origin. Excepting only the Jewish Synagogue and the Catholic Church, the university is the oldest organized institution of Western civilization, and, as we know it today, may rightly be considered the lineal descendant of medieval Bologna and Paris, though throughout the period of its origin it had no libraries, no laboratories, no museums, no endowment, no buildings, being, as Pasquier so aptly phrased it, "*batie en hommes*."

The oldest universities probably developed, here and there, out of cathedral or monastery schools, built around the superior teaching of early scholars. The university organization gradually assumed shape by the beginning of the thirteenth century as a privileged association of scholars and teachers gathered together for the purpose of discussion and study, the earliest originating with the foreign students at Bologna in the last quarter of the twelfth century. Mutual protection and assistance on the part of the foreign students, initiated, it seems, by the German students congregated in Bologna, was the motivating force. As local students and faculty members were not admitted to membership in the corporation, the ear-

ly Italian universities were virtually guilds of foreign students, similar in purpose and legal status to the non-scholastic guild. In many instances the organization took the form of several nationality groups combining in the maintenance of a single rector for a united student group or of a separate rector for each of the various nationalities and a division of the university, that is, the student body, on the basis of nationality.

Just as the university owes its origin to student migration, so also to a marked degree do individual institutions owe their existence to special student migrations—virtually secessions from older universities. These defections were usually the result of a desire to follow and continue work with an itinerant professor or of dissatisfaction with the treatment accorded the students at a particular university. The departure of Placentinus from Bologna in the second half of the twelfth century resulted in such a migration, first to Mantua, then to Montpellier. The next two centuries saw a series of these migrations leading to severe repressive laws, sometimes exacting the death penalty, against all who might conspire to bring them about from the various university towns of Italy. One of the most interesting medieval student migrations is the "Dispersion of 1229" from the University of Paris, which from its earliest days was a popular centre for foreign students. Unable to gain satisfactory redress after a furious quarrel with the local authorities and townspeople, the masters and scholars migrated to Oxford, Cambridge and the other *studia generalia* of France. The return to Paris of most of the masters and scholars was brought about in 1231 by a series of Papal bulls, providing for the punishment of the ecclesiastical authority at Paris whose severity toward the students had occasioned the dispersion, and establishing the great charter of privileges that has been called the "Magna Charta of the University." Oxford University probably owes its inception to an academic migration

caused by a series of ordinances issued by Henry II between 1165 and 1169, recalling English scholars from France, while another migration from Oxford seems to explain the inception of Cambridge as a university centre, which was also undoubtedly strengthened through becoming, with Oxford, a place of refuge for a part of the throngs of students who left Paris in 1229.

With the increase in the number of students who journeyed from afar to one of the *studia generalia* to hear some noted teacher read and comment on the famous textbooks of the time, the need for better protection, both of the teacher and of the student, began to be evident. Many came from great distances, and the international courtesies and public safety were little known. From early times both the teachers and the students had been considered as members of the clergy and had enjoyed the same privileges and immunities. Some additional favors and grants of protection and safety were, however, found desirable. Furthermore, the presence of these strangers within a city or small State added greatly to its prestige and wealth. In Italy the number of students had reached such proportions that in 1158 Emperor Frederick Barbarossa issued a general proclamation, which was the beginning of a long series of grants of rights and privileges, to the teachers and students of the universities then in process of formation. In an age of oppression those institutions stood for freedom, and in an age of might they helped to stimulate the substitution of reason and law for brute force. Upon their return to their homes the students who had studied in a distant university and had met there men from all over the civilized world, accomplished a great deal in dispelling ignorance, prejudice and superstition. No less important was the practice of inviting a master from one country to serve in the university of another.

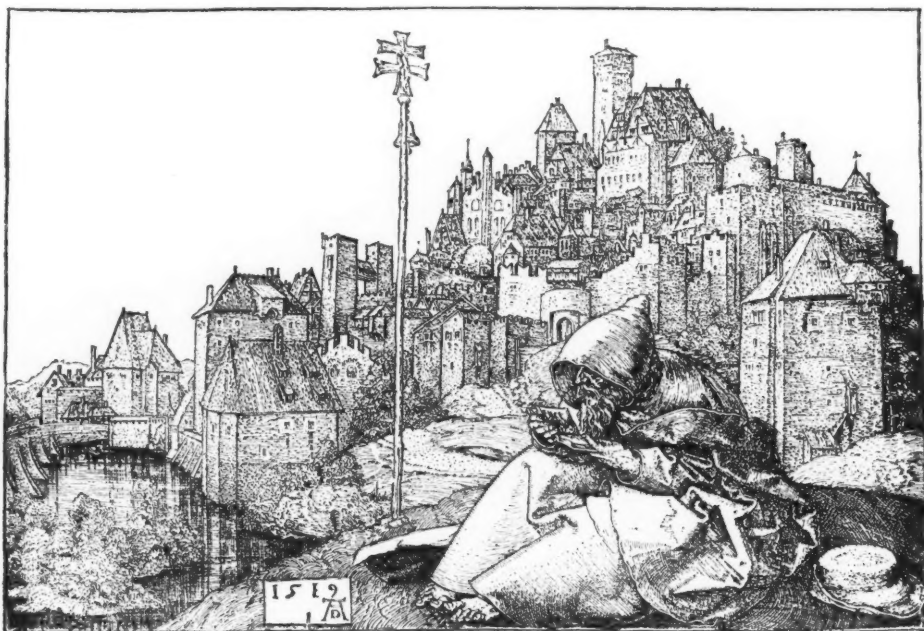
With the disintegration of medieval unity during the Renaissance and the rise and consolidation of national States, the universities also became na-

tional in character, and the former movement of students from all over Europe almost ceased, so that it is not until well into the nineteenth century that we observe any significant revival of students of one nation wandering afield seeking intellectual nourishment in the universities of other nations.

The English universities, it has been stated, gave "origin, quickening and form to higher education in America." Harvard College owes its inception to the sons of Emmanuel College and the other Cambridge colleges. During the Colonial period many Americans attended the Inns of Court in London, among them five signers of the Declaration of Independence, but with the foundation of Yale, through the special influence of graduates of Harvard, the native American movement became dominant. The English tradition in academic government, methods and content of instruction continued, however, until the outbreak of the War of Independence. During and after the war a

new foreign academic influence, the French, appeared, and French influence in literature and philosophy became most pervasive among the American people. Thomas Jefferson was an ardent advocate and a frequent expositor of appreciation for French science and education. In founding the University of Virginia he adopted in many respects the French model. Yet, the number of American students who matriculated at the Sorbonne and the provincial universities of France during the eighteenth century was never very large.

Not until the World War were the American people aroused and brought to a full realization of the wealth of intellectual opportunities available in France. The total university enrolment in that country in 1914 was about 40,000, of which over one-seventh were students from foreign lands. In 1919 the total figures approximated 30,000, of which the foreign students exceeded 6,000. Whereas there were only 54



Courtesy N. Y. Public Library

ST. ANTHONY OF PADUA (1195-1231)

A teacher of theology at Bologna, Toulouse, Montpellier and Padua. From an engraving by Albrecht Dürer



Courtesy N. Y. Public Library

German students of the sixteenth century clustering around a bookstall

American students in France in 1914, the number reached 2,772 in 1919. It was remarked at that time that "there is no doubt that France has replaced Germany as the Mecca of American students."

A study of the literature of Latin America and of Russia before the revolution provides striking evidence of the influence of French culture upon the intellectual life of great ethnic groups. Nearly one-third of the foreign students in France in 1909 were Russians, and in 1914 one-half. In Germany, Belgium and Switzerland, Russian students comprised the largest group of the foreign students at that time.

With the opening of the nineteenth century and the waning of French academic influence in the United States, the German universities assumed a significant part in the development of American higher education. This originated in the experiences in Germany of George Tickner, one of a group of four New Englanders who studied at the University of Göttingen in the second

decade of the nineteenth century. Profoundly impressed by the thoroughness and systematic administration of German education, Tickner, upon his return to the United States to become a professor at Harvard, proposed many reforms which led ultimately to that institution being transformed into a university in the broadest sense of the word.

According to official records less than 200 Americans enrolled in different German universities before 1850, among them Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Edward Everett, George Bancroft and J. Lothrop Motley. Among the advantages of a German university were the elasticity of the curriculum, the mental activity required of each individual scholar, and the extreme freedom from restraint so highly prized by a student in a foreign land. To these factors is ascribed Longfellow's preference for Göttingen to Oxford. Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, which was a necessary requirement for matriculation in

the English universities, caused many American students to turn to Germany. During the century before the World War about 10,000 American students matriculated in Germany. About one-half of them went to the University of Berlin, and most of the remaining 5,000 to the universities of Leipzig, Heidelberg, Halle, Bonn, Munich and Göttingen. More than one-half took their work in the department of philosophy, the other half being divided among the faculties of theology, law and medicine.

In 1901 the foreign student element in Germany represented about 7½ per cent of the entire enrolment, the Russian group having the largest. At that time 6,284 foreign students were registered in the German universities, as against only 1,770 in the universities of France, while figures compiled by the United States Commissioner of Education for 1904 showed a total of only 2,673 foreign students in the United States. Statistics for 1912-13 show an attendance of nearly 5,000 foreign students in the higher educational institu-

tions of Germany. Of this number nearly one-half were Russians while of the remainder, the two largest groups were from Austria-Hungary and the Balkans. The World War disturbed very materially student migrations to Germany and other countries. In the years immediately after the war, among the 5,000 or more applications for study in German institutions of higher learning, four groups of foreigners were pre-eminent—those from Eastern and South-eastern Europe; from Mohammedan lands of the Near East, Turkey, Egypt and even India; from Eastern Asia, and from Spain and South America. In the Spring of 1922 there were 1,500 Russian students in Germany, while about 1,000 Chinese students were reported as residing there during the following year. The ratio between Germans and foreigners in the universities has hardly changed since then. According to official statistics about 10 per cent of the students in Germany are foreigners, but there has been a larger increase in the total number of students in the uni-



Courtesy N. Y. Public Library

A SERMON BY ABELARD (1079-1142)



Courtesy N. Y. Public Library

HARVARD COLLEGE IN 1795

From a painting by Joseph Story

versities, which is now about 100,000, with 9,000 or 10,000 foreigners in the *hochschulen*.

The Russians have long occupied a prominent place numerically in every foreign student centre in Europe. The present number of Russian students in foreign lands is probably about 20,000. This migration of refugee students has spread over the whole of Central and Western Europe and into Syria, Egypt and the United States. In 1921 there were about 2,000 Russian students in Constantinople. At the end of that year most of them left for Prague, the Czechoslovak Government having offered scholarships and transportation to Russians desiring to study in the universities of Czechoslovakia. So large was the Russian group in Prague that there were established in 1922 a Russian faculty of law and a Russian institute, where the instruction was given by Russians in Russian.

Even within the continental limits of

the United States there is a marked migratory tendency among college students. Among the problems created by the great increase in enrolments in the universities and colleges of the country, now exceeding 750,000, many are concerned with the residence and migration of these students. Several years ago President George F. Zook of the University of Akron, then chief of the division of higher education in the United States Bureau of Education, made a comprehensive study of this subject. He found that on the average nearly 25 per cent of American college students went outside the State in which they resided, while 75 per cent remained in their home States for a college education.

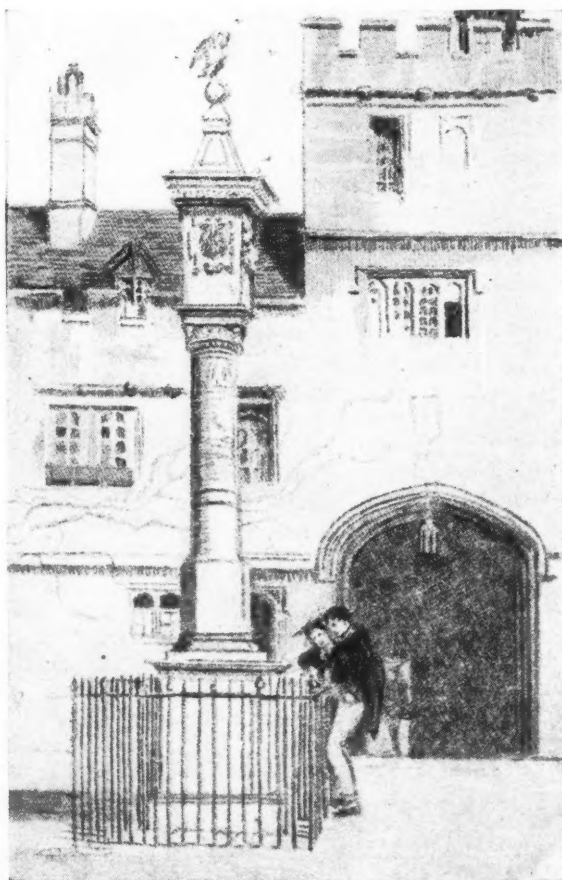
In New Jersey only 21 per cent of the native students went to college in that State. A similar situation was found in Connecticut, where all but 34 per cent of the Connecticut students migrated to colleges and universities in other

States. This may be explained by the convenience and ease with which residents of these two States can go to New York City, Philadelphia or Boston, although there are other factors as well. In California, over 90 per cent of the California students enrolled in California institutions, while nearly as many Texan students went to college in their home State. Over 80 per cent of the students residing in Oregon, Utah, Nebraska and Minnesota registered in institutions in their own States. This may be due to the higher educational facilities in these States, coupled with the long distances in reaching similar or superior institutions located in other States. In Massachusetts it was found that, notwithstanding the development of educational facilities in that State and the tendency for students from all sections of the United States to flock to the colleges and universities of Massachusetts, over 25 per cent of the students resident in that State went elsewhere.

The registration in the Harvard Law School for 1928-1929 totaled 1,534 students, each one of whom had completed a four-year academic college course. While about one-fifth had graduated from Harvard College, 207 colleges in all were represented by one or more students. Forty-five States, the District of Columbia, four possessions of the United States and nineteen foreign countries were represented by students at Princeton in 1928-1929 in a total enrolment of 2,485. The 232 students in the Princeton Graduate School came from thirty-four States and ten foreign countries. The growing cosmopolitan character of the Yale Graduate School is illustrated by the enrolment in 1928-1929 of 709 students from North and South America, the British West Indies,

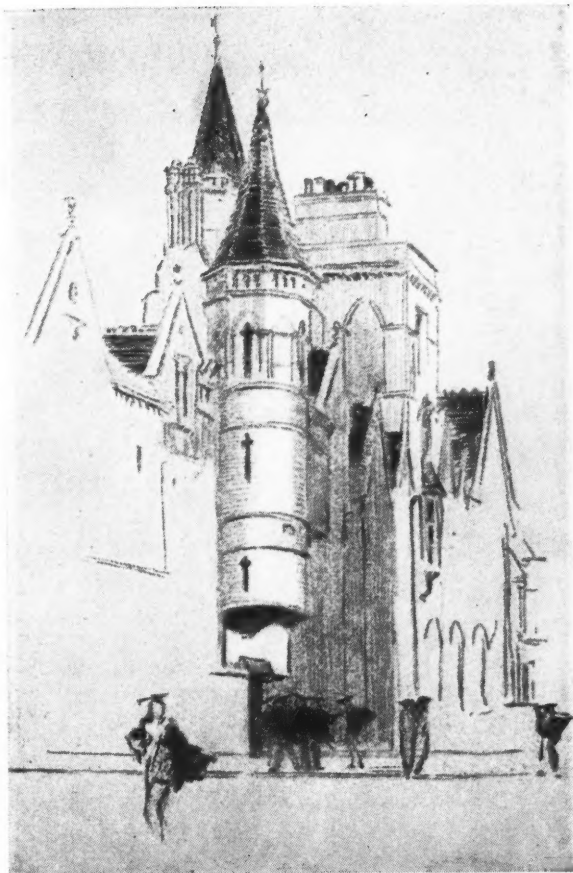
the British Isles, nine countries of Europe, South Africa, West Africa, Egypt, four countries of Asia, Australia, New Zealand and the Dutch East Indies. A list of 285 institutions, including forty-four foreign universities, were represented by the degrees already held by these students. The number of foreign students from foreign countries and the United States possessions registered in Columbia University in 1928-1929 were nearly 1,000. Large numbers were also to be found at Harvard University, the universities of California, Chicago, Washington, Michigan and Pennsylvania, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Cornell University.

A proposal to invite other nations to



Fred Richards

The sundial, Corpus Christi College, Oxford



Fred Richards

A corner of Balliol College, Oxford

send students to the United States "to learn our customs and our habits of thought," was presented to the conference on international justice of the American Peace Society in 1928 as the program of the American Legion for the promotion of world friendship by the Rev. Gill Robb Wilson, then national chaplain of the legion. He urged that the United States set aside a part of the money received on our foreign war debts for the purpose of establishing scholarships for students from other countries. A precedent for this was the remission of one-half the yearly payment of the Boxer indemnity, a total of nearly \$12,000,000, for the education of Chinese students in the United States.

Before the World War the cultural influence of the United States upon Europe was slight. The number of students who came from Europe to study in our colleges and universities was negligible. On the other hand, the number of American students who attended European universities, especially those of Germany, was significant. Moreover, though there were a few exchange professorships, they carried little influence, and visiting professorships were almost unknown. The contributions of Americans to scholarly periodicals of an international character, while increasing in number, were relatively few compared to those of Europeans. American contributions to art, music and the drama were not impressive, and the influence of American literature in Europe was comparatively unimportant. Recognition, however, was given to American achievements in science, especially applied science, but our democratic system of education generally was regarded with small favor, as leading to mediocrity. In fact, there

would be but slight exaggeration in saying that many Europeans looked upon Americans in the days before the World War as very little better than barbarians.

After the war a desire to know more about America spread throughout Europe. Rarely in human history had a nation attained so rapidly and so effectively such an influential position in the eyes of the rest of the world. Despite our aloofness from many post-war political deliberations across the sea, close cooperation in things cultural and educational steadily developed. This desire on the part of Europe and America for a better mutual understanding has assumed many forms, and none more

hopeful than the interchange of students. As a result the United States has become a veritable Mecca for students from all over the world, while countries hitherto comparatively indifferent to the presence of American students have been making efforts to attract them.

A striking feature of the international exchange of students is the number of fellowships involved. With the exception of the Rhodes scholarships, established a quarter century ago to enable students from the United States and the British dominions to continue their work at Oxford, and the American Scandinavian Foundation fellowships, established in 1911 "to cultivate closer relations between the Scandinavian countries and the United States," international fellowships hardly existed before the World War. Today the mere enumeration of these opportunities would fill a stout book. Another development is that initiated by the headmasters of several American preparatory schools, who have initiated two plans for bringing about personal contacts between the schoolboys of the various countries. One is an exchange of boys during the regular working terms of the school calendar. This plan is being tried by several schools at the present time. The other is a Summer

vacation program, which can be carried out without any sacrifice of time, and which, in fact, offers a real economy of time to the boy who seriously desires to strengthen his language studies. The latter plan is working most effectively in both directions, the foreign students profiting fully as much from their study in this country as do the Americans who go abroad.

Speaking at the recent annual meeting of the Association of American Colleges, Vincent Massey, Canadian Minister to the United States, declared that "the realities of international affairs are nowhere better understood than in the realm of education. In the world of the mind there can be no disharmony between communities. The educational systems of neighboring countries may differ widely, but it is the habit of educationalists to regard themselves less as rivals than as allies in a common cause. What competition there may be between them is wholesome, for it is not in the realm of things material, but rather of ideas and ideals. In the sphere of the mind the asperities of life are softened." To this one may add that student migrations have been, and will continue to be, one of the most effective methods of bringing about greater mutual understanding among nations.

The Soviet's Treatment of Scientists

By *W. HORSLEY GANTT*

PHIPPS INSTITUTE, JOHNS HOPKINS MEDICAL SCHOOL; FORMERLY CHIEF OF THE MEDICAL DIVISION OF THE LENINGRAD UNIT OF THE AMERICAN RELIEF ADMINISTRATION (1922-23); COLLABORATOR IN THE PHYSIOLOGICAL LABORATORY OF PROFESSOR PAVLOV (1925-29)

IN SPEAKING of what is going on in the Soviet Union, it seems a far cry to refer to the past, but to neglect this is to misunderstand. After 1914 there was a gradual decline in the standard of living, and by 1917, even before the revolution, privations had become chronic. Then the exhaustion of the two revolutions, civil wars, blockade, famine, disease precipitated wholesale misery from which Russia has only recently begun to convalesce. What corresponded to the worst period in the rest of Europe was but the prelude to the Russian experiences. Not only the intensity of this suffering but its duration is important. A barefooted, tattered Russian physician said to me in 1922, on being given an American newspaper: "It has been so long since I have even heard of anything outside of our miserable life, it seems like coming from another world." Another doctor said he was so accustomed to going all day with little or no food that he hardly felt hungry when he missed a meal. In America, where for one year there were such denials as meatless days twice a week and corn bread instead of flour, there was a complaint in medical circles of diet deficiencies. Russia's privations have been ten times as long and infinitely greater.

When the fighting was over and communistic rations were abandoned at the end of 1921, the physicians returned to their former positions, but the official salaries were too small to live on, and they were sometimes paid several months late, and as for private practice, the population had nothing to pay for it. Well-known professors and clinicians became destitute, and in 1918-1920 many physicians entered the

hospitals with hunger edema. In order to sustain himself a physician had to occupy several positions, hurrying from one to the other on foot through the snow. A famous physiologist who received \$500 for three lectures in this country in the Summer of 1929 told me that he was delighted on one occasion to be paid two pounds of butter for a lecture he gave in 1920, after walking five miles to the meeting.

During the war there were 24,000 doctors in Russia. About 50 per cent of them suffered from typhus and 3,000 died of this disease. This high mortality has been attributed to a peculiar susceptibility of the nervous and vascular systems of physicians. Dr. Semashko states that "during the height of the epidemics of typhus and relapsing fever, practically 100 per cent of the doctors on the eastern front were stricken and their mortality was 70 per cent."

Apart from the difficulties of working in unheated laboratories, where even the ink often froze, examinations could not be made owing to the lack of gas, water and illumination. There was a total want of both Russian and foreign literature. "In order to write down one's observations, one had to use gray paper of a bad quality which was stealthily bought from speculators (trading being prohibited). The home-made ink was usually prepared out of some dye hardly suitable for the purpose." Many scientists left Leningrad or were employed in some other kind of work. "Notwithstanding all the terrors, scientific life did not cease altogether. During the hardest period one could see men of science working in their overcoats, fur caps and snowshoes. Half-starved men continued to



Press Cliche

N. A. SEMASHKO

Commissar for Health of the Union of
Socialist Soviet Republics

carry on their experiments on half-starved animals. The dead dogs were cooked and fed to the living. After an operation the animal was often taken home to be huddled near the stove with the investigator." Scientific assemblies were held, although the members had to go on foot and to sit in overcoats by lamp or candle light in lieu of electricity. By the end of 1919 scientific life began to revive, and has been becoming more and more stabilized. In spite of the adverse conditions several new scientific societies were formed and important work carried on.

Worthy of mention is the rectitude and unselfishness of the Russian physicians during these horrible and hopeless years. They existed at a time when the strain of living was so great that some of the population were driven to eating human flesh and even killing members of their own family. In distributing relief supplies through the Russian physicians I never knew of a case of theft among them, although they were

in dire need. The following instance was not uncommon. In Vologda, a town of 50,000 near Archangel, we found that the chief surgeon was living with a family of nine children on a salary of about \$6 a month, that he had not had a new suit or overcoat for ten years, and his trousers were more patches than anything else. We sent him, as well as a few other doctors, a relief clothing package, but some days later we received a gracious letter saying that he had passed the things on to a colleague more needy than he.

After 1922 there was a gradual improvement in both living and working conditions. Fighting and famine were now over, order had been restored, the currency stabilized, and salaries increased, so that by 1926 many people thought that the life of the scientists would soon be as good or even better than before the war. During 1928 and 1929, however, social readjustments have been accelerated and enforced to such an extent that the scientist also has often been involved in numerous ways.

It is certain that the Soviet Government has done what it could financially to foster the growth of science when this has not conflicted with its political principles. The revolution, however, fell with a crushing weight on many doctors, and there is much opinion on both sides as to whether the régime has had a detrimental effect on science in addition to the former economic chaos. A Russian scientist of international reputation who was expelled in 1922 wrote to me in reply to my statement in 1924 that the government had endeavored to help science as far as it could with its limited means: "My feeling is that the Soviet authorities have done what they could with their unlimited means of destruction to kill science and inhibit its growth, because free and independent thinking is in direct conflict with the Soviet political principles." An equally pessimistic view is expressed by a younger scientist of Leningrad. Although he now is fairly comfortable compared to what he was several years ago, and though he ad-

mitted the Soviet efforts to benefit science, he said that the psychological conditions were not conducive to scientific work, since the scientists themselves are thrown into too prominent a social light and are too dependent upon the will of students and politics, and that they are too uncertain as to the future. Many of the younger generation, however, are extremely enthusiastic about the relation of science to the new régime and the inclusion of it in a scheme of Marxism. They feel that it must be related in some way to the spread and application of this new doctrine.

This is to be expected from the change in the social status of the students. The classes that have reason to be most interested in the Soviet Government (workmen, peasants and Communists) are those who have the best opportunity to receive a university or scientific education. The class from which opposition might come—the former bourgeoisie—was largely ex-

cluded from the universities in 1924, though some of them were readmitted later when official opinion had become more liberal and more emphasis was placed on merit. A majority of the university students receive free tuition and a stipend that is sufficient to maintain them. Students are divided into categories (Communists, workmen, peasants, or their sons, bourgeoisie and so forth), and the amount they receive depends upon this. Forty to 60 per cent of the medical students and probably about 80 per cent of other students are Communists. Those from the bourgeois classes, instead of receiving a stipend, must pay for their tuition unless they interest themselves in party politics. The percentage of workmen and peasants rose from about 19 before the war to 93 in 1922.

The present system of education tends to insure that the university graduates will be in the near future at any rate in agreement with the basic principles of communism. The future



Advice to the peasant: "Go to the hospital instead of to the village midwife"

This and the following posters are distributed by Soviet health authorities



"A healthy mother and healthy children are the backbone of the proletarian revolution." In the background is Red Square, Moscow, with Lenin's tomb and the Kremlin

professors and doctors must come from those who now have the opportunity to receive an education—the so-called "Red" professors. Although some of the old teachers fear expulsion when a sufficient number of the new ruling class have been prepared to take their places, from the past policy of the Soviet Government it is questionable whether they will expel an efficient professor for other than definite counter-revolutionary political activity. Even during the disorder of the revolution only a few were dismissed. But notwithstanding the probabilities, this is a source of not a little worry to many.

The conditions prevailing after the war and revolution caused not a few to feel, as the author of a scientific treatise wrote, that "this is more the record of a broken and shattered life than the profitable completion of physiological work." There are some, however, outside the Communist party who look forward with optimism to the future, and say that they have no political

grievances, that the government is doing all that it can to help their work. Typical of this group, an eminent non-partisan pathologist said to me: "The conditions in Soviet Russia are much better than they were in Czarist Russia for scientific work. As Soviet finances improve more money is being given. The *Narkompros* (Minister of Education) is active in making scientific work more intensive and practical, as the Communists say that socialism can exist only with science. I think that scientists will be able to carry on entirely independently of politics, and will not be hampered in any way by political considerations. I know of many monarchistic professors who are now receiving ample amounts of money to proceed with their investigations. As we have never had democracy in Russia, I cannot say what effect it would have on science, but I think science will prosper under the present régime more than under the old one. My chief difficulty is learning to deal with the new type of student." The director of one of

the famous research institutes in Russia, also not a Communist, told me that the Soviet policy toward science in his institute had been constructive rather than destructive, and especially so from 1924 onward.

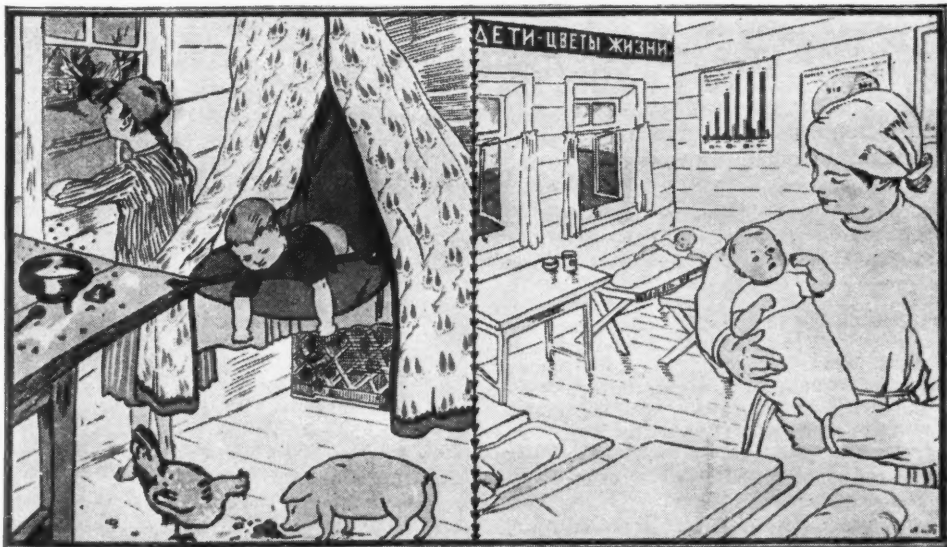
Some excellent laboratories have been established and new lines of research initiated by the Soviet Government. Scientific work is going on in many more places than formerly, and there are more scientific investigators, although they may not be as well prepared as those who were educated before the war. The most necessary equipment was bought from Germany in 1924—the first in ten years. Funds are being gradually increased, and a good many new institutes have been erected in the past two years.

The scientists have been as a rule left entirely free to plan their own scientific problems. Distribution of Soviet funds is usually made according to scientific merit—in fact, some of the scientific laboratories whose heads are most opposed to the régime have received the largest grants from the government. Pavlov is such an instance. The administrative posts are generally given to party members, and the laboratory worker has little or nothing to

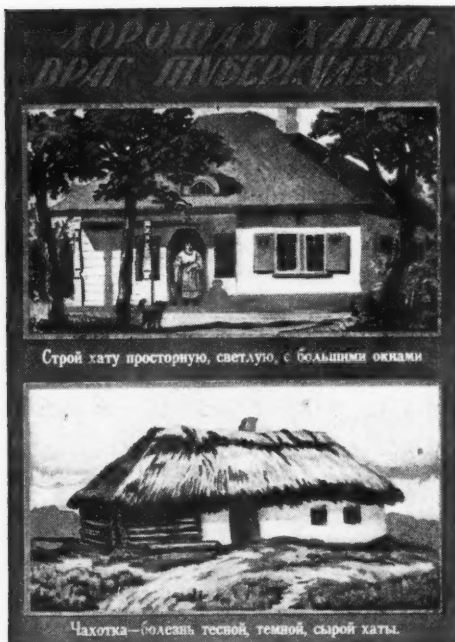
say of the political plans to which his institute may be dedicated.

The fact that Lenin endorsed science has had a great influence, especially as Leninism has assumed somewhat the character of a State religion. In nearly every government building—and this includes most buildings—is a room called "Lenin's corner," containing all the writings of the leader and his picture surrounded by some of his aphorisms. One of these says, "Without science there can be no communism." The decorations are in red and black, and there is an atmosphere of reverence strongly suggestive of the former chapels. It was due to Lenin's influence that Pavlov was retained in Russia after the revolution.

The disturbances at the Academy of Sciences, brought about last Winter by the government's establishment of a professorship of political science (Marxian, of course) and the sponsoring of candidates by the government was really not a new thing, but it created an uproar because this body had not been interfered with before. This illustrates the determination of the Soviet authorities to make science an ally of the government and a subsidiary of what they consider the more



"Take the child to a nursery; do not leave it with an inexperienced person," exhorts this poster. But unfortunately there is a dearth of such nurseries



"A good home is the enemy of tuberculosis; build a house well-aired with big windows"

important science of communism. Pavlov was the only member who made open protests against this action.

The public health department, the *Narkomzdrav*, (official abbreviation for People's Commissariat of Health) is an innovation of the Bolsheviks, there having been none under the Czar. Dr. Semashko, its head, is an old and tried Communist and also an efficient organizer. In outlining his work to me he said:

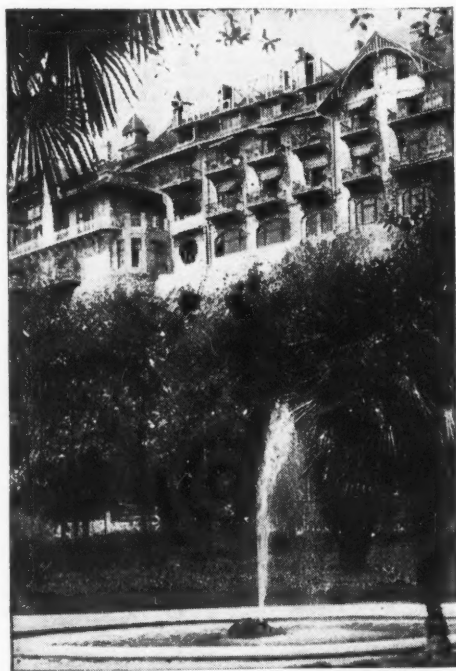
The present tendency of our work is prophylactic and educational—teaching the peasants and workmen to care for themselves. * * * Prostitution, which is one of the greatest causes of syphilis, has been officially prohibited by the government and is punishable by fine. There are no houses of prostitution in Soviet Russia. Women's organizations are finding work for the prostitutes. Although there are still some places where syphilis is very prevalent, there is not so much in the Red Army as there was among the Czar's troops.

Another development making for improved health is that of athletics. In old Russia there was a lack of almost

every form of sport, but in the short space of five or six years, athletics have become general in the large centres, and are spreading all over the land. Even in villages 2,000 miles away from the great cities boys may be seen playing football.

One of the most successful efforts of the *Narkomzdrav* has been its propaganda for personal hygiene and cleanliness. Placards of exhortation are placed not only in all public places, street cars, restaurants, but also in reading rooms in small villages, in the peasants' and workers' clubs, &c. Excellent photoplays have been prepared for the same purpose. One of them deals with the dangers of irregular abortions, another with alcohol, and a third with the work of the Pavlov laboratories. Some of them contain scenes which, though represented entirely from the scientific point of view, would hardly be permitted in America. The Russian mind is much more naïve and free from prudery.

In explaining the progress of the



Press Cliche

A Soviet rest home at Abkhazia

Narkomzdrav to me, Dr. Semashko pointed out that the bad health of the people was largely due to the effects of the lack of education dating from the Czarist period and to the famine. Prophylaxis by education, one of the cardinal principles of the present health work, was almost forbidden formerly. Trachoma and other such diseases were overlooked; there were no laws regulating working hours nor rest homes for mothers nor dispensaries nor the participation of workers in public health matters nor social insurance. The death rate of 1927 was below that of 1913. Infantile mortality, which before the war was higher in Russia than in any European country, has diminished from a rate of 25 before the war to 12 in Leningrad and 13.7 in Moscow. Health officers are sent into the villages; abortions, though now legalized, are reported by the head of this department (*Gens*) to be fewer than in Berlin or New York; there were 1,700 country medical stations in 1926 as against 1,388 before the war, and the average radius of a doctor's practice has been reduced considerably. In 1925 about \$5,000,000 was provided by the Soviet Government for the construction of hospitals and public health stations.

Though science will suffer during the next decade or so chiefly from the emigration of Russian scientists, the

lack of preparation in the pupils who were graduated during the wars and revolution, the want of adaptation between the professor and the present type of student, and from other inevitable adjustments to the new social conditions, the bringing of science under governmental control insures financial support and stability during a troublesome period. Some prominent American scientists, such as John Dewey and McKeen Cattell, have been very favorably impressed by the theoretical program of the Soviet régime and some of the new model institutes, and although these few model institutes do not tell the whole story by far, they indicate that genuine efforts are being made. There is a question as to what extent the methods used will produce practical and lasting effects, in view of the changed living and social conditions under which the scientist must labor. Investigators have special favors shown them because of their scientific work. Though they have suffered, it has been due to their general surroundings, and if one makes allowance for the standard of living in Russia their condition compares well with that of the scientists in other countries. Indeed I have often felt during the five years I recently completed in the Soviet Union that the position of science is one of the brightest spots in the gray Russian sky.

A Porto Rican View of American Control

By LEOPOLDO CUBAN

The following article is written by a Porto Rican who voices the attitude of many of his compatriots who are opposed to the present form of colonial government. A graduate of Gettysburg College and at present a theological student in the Philadelphia Lutheran Seminary, he is well known as a preacher and lecturer on religious and social subjects among the Spanish-speaking people of New York City.

NOT ONLY IS THERE a spirit of restlessness and anxiety among Porto Ricans, but they seem to have lost all sense of direction in their approach to the problems they must solve so as to extricate themselves from the difficulty and semi-chaotic condition in which their country now is. A heavy economic burden added to political and legislative tyranny has at last provoked the people to abandon their humility and quietude. Thus, with a tinge of melancholy or sorrow, a firm protest is heard from time to time. It is a cry of anguish voicing our sufferings when the wings of liberty were finally clipped by the dragon of foreign exploitation and oppression. Where this will lead us we do not know, but it is certain that our problems need minute and serious consideration if the United States is to retain the respected and honored place it should in the eyes of Porto Rico and of the world.

A Porto Rican is a "half-baked" American, with a citizenship good in time of war when he can be enlisted in the army of the United States to defend rights and liberties which theoretically are his, but which in fact are as far removed from him as those promised by Ferdinand and Isabella four centuries ago. A Porto Rican's citizenship has little value when he needs personal guarantees or when he asks for rights; his problems are given

for solution to people ignorant of the country and its conditions, or more often, indifferent and unresponsive to demands for help and cooperation. In the United States too much reliance is placed on experts and authorities and on government titles and college degrees. This leads to neglect of the man who is able to think for himself and who has original and oftentimes more reliable information to impart. Porto Ricans, therefore, are never heard; they are regarded as inferior intellectually and consequently as incapable of understanding even their own problems, which, anomalous as it may seem, are easily understood by the American experts after a few weeks' sojourn in the island.

In his Armistice Day address ex-President Coolidge declared that our territorial possessions were not a help but a hindrance to us, and that we held them as a "duty." A duty to whom? No one can deny that Porto Rico has progressed enormously since the American invasion. It has improved in education, industry, government, sanitation and agriculture. But the people have paid dearly for these benefits, since they have resulted in the impoverishment of the people and in the enrichment of certain elements neither helpful to the country nor contributory to the strengthening of the ties of amity and affection between the two lands. Captain Sawders, in a lecture

given at Gettysburg College in February, 1929, mentioned the fact that the United States is in Nicaragua for "business," a significant phrase which will help us understand the reasons for America's failure in Porto Rico.

The government of Porto Rico is considered the best form of colonial government that we could have in the circumstances. We are told that we should be contented with the liberality of the American authorities which give us "so much freedom" to manage our own destinies and govern ourselves as we see fit. But then we hear the truth and we wonder whether "such a splendid government" does not lack something which makes it not only obnoxious to liberty-loving people, but detrimental to social and political health. Not without good reasons did *The New Republic* of Feb. 6, 1929, say editorially:

In installing our administration in Porto Rico, the United States proceeded along the familiar lines of Americanization. Confident that our ways are best, we transplanted to this island political institutions which were already cracking at home; we introduced mechanical appliances which, destroying tropical beauty, have made the main streets of San Juan look like a city in Iowa. We have emphasized and re-emphasized the teaching of English in the schools. We have induced a Latin people to accept prohibition; we have vetoed Porto Rican bills allowing cockfights. The obvious goal of this policy has been assimilation, but we have failed in this effort. Spanish is more than ever the language of the people, and despite their American citizenship, Porto Ricans are more than ever conscious of their cultural nationhood, even though it exists in a warped form. A Spanish writer, Señor Araquistain, who recently visited the Greater Antilles, observed that while in Cuba, Haiti and Santo Domingo people lived joyously though poor, in Porto Rico, the attempted imposition of Anglo-Saxon culture has produced a general melancholy. "The presence of the North Americans has imposed a veil of sorrow upon the Porto Rican conscience."

In industry Porto Rico has progressed much, so much indeed that it can be truly called an American factory with slaves working for a few industrial concerns and corporations which run that colony of serfs through

heartless agents continually lashing the Porto Rican loins with the whip of economic exploitation. Absentee landlordism is a prevalent evil. Low wages on the false assumption—convenient to a few—that living conditions are not as high as in the United States and therefore cheaper, when in reality they are as high if not higher, and a system of land monopoly maladjusted to an agricultural country, have contributed to the stifling of the Porto Rican vigor, resourcefulness and individuality. These economic conditions have consequently led to a laxity in morals which is becoming appalling. Bribery and graft are common and taken for granted in a society where the struggle for existence is so acute; dirt and filth, want and destitution, poverty and neglect, have created a fatalistic attitude and a rebellion against life in this people which make them justify any action.

In Porto Rico two cultures have tried to fuse, or, to put it more clearly, the Anglo-Saxon culture has tried to swallow up the culture of Spain. But they have not even arrived at a compromise. The Porto Rican, Spanish in tradition, tropical by birth and inclination, is American in education. He is neither a true American—nor a true Spaniard—nor even a genuine tropical; furthermore, he is not a combination of the three. He is a being by himself, somewhat subject to the caprice of circumstances. At times he acts like an American, sometimes like a Spaniard, generally like a tropical, but he never gives full expression to any of these three characteristics nor to the three combined. He seems to act on the spur of the moment. It is not without reason that the Latin Americans were somewhat astonished when one of our ablest Nationalists, a prominent lawyer of the southern part of Porto Rico, visited the Spanish-American countries on a tour of nationalistic propaganda. Everywhere he went the Spanish-Americans found him a strange person. He expressed himself in the purest Castilian; he had tropical personal fea-

tures and characteristics, and American (Anglo-Saxon) ways and culture. Preaching the ideals of national individuality he was the embodiment of their antithesis.

It is incontrovertible that Porto Rico has been Spanish in culture and tradition. Four hundred years of Spanish domination have left an ineradicable impression on the life and thought of the people. Everywhere in the island one can see the old Catholic church with its thick, massive walls occupying the most prominent part of the town or village. These churches seem to stand like sentinels of the past guarding the treasure of our Castilian traditions from the erosion of time and the inroads of a new civilization. Buildings, bridges, roads and other public works of the *conquistadores* or their early descendants abound all through the country, serving as witnesses to the world of the great nation that guarded with so much zeal the faith of Philip II and carried the banner of Latin civilization to a new world, giving birth to a score of nations.

Another example of the effect of this combination of cultures is San Juan, the capital of Porto Rico. In the city of San Juan, surrounded by enormous walls, guarded at intervals by old Spanish castles built on the rocks and by poetic and legendary sentry boxes, one can see the mixture of modernity and tradition, of skyscrapers and old brick dwellings, of business and leisure, of poetry and vulgarity, of nature and man-made things, the old and the new trying to fuse, the "time is money attitude of the Anglo-Saxon endeavoring to supplant the *mañana* attitude of the Latin-American. San Juan contains monuments to Columbus and Ponce de Leon as well as to Washington and Lincoln; its old Spanish government buildings (one of which was constructed by order of Ponce de Leon himself when he was Governor of the island) house the most modern and up-to-date offices of the present colonial government. Its busy and noisy streets bearing names reminiscent of the old Spanish days, such as

Santo Cristo, Cruz, Tanca, Tetuan, San José, San Justo and Norzagaray, are full of people of two races, of two cultures, of two traditions, of two divergent views of life.

The old city has imitated its sisters of the North and has branched out into luxurious suburban sections worthy to honor the most progressive cities of America. Nature, with magnificent beauty, has squandered its luxuriance in these suburbs, and its bounties of colorful and grandiose exuberance in these residential sections contribute to make the contrast between the old and the new city more pronounced. San Juan is a paradoxical city, the prototype of everything Porto Rican. San Juan is rich and poor, beautiful and ugly, poetical and prosaic, busy and indolent, clean and repulsive, modern and old. And yet San Juan cannot shake off its Spanish quaintness. Especially during its patron saint festivities (June 24) and during carnival celebrations, do we behold gorgeous remnants of the influence of its founders.

We do not know where our methods of education will lead us. The system is bilingual, that is, in Spanish and English. But despite the study of the English classics the Spanish authors are the "best sellers." Spanish remains the language in which the people think and express their feelings and our entire literary production is and will continue to be in Spanish. Most of our students prepare for medicine, law and engineering. The liberal arts are not pursued by the descendants of the great landowners and grandees of Spain. Our education is tending to become more and more technical and fitted for an industrial country; and yet our island is entirely agricultural and promises to remain so.

Still more paradoxical is the fact that in a country boasting a splendid and well-organized system of education so many students have to stay out of school; in a country where compulsory education exists half the children of school age do not attend school; in a country where illiteracy was reduced

from 92 to 50 per cent in the last thirty years the appropriations for education in the national budget have had to be reduced and many schools closed; in a country whose political future depends on its educational and social progress, economic conditions do not permit the government to educate all the children of the land nor would they permit these children to attend the schools if such were provided; in a country with such a progressive educational system and with one of the best universities in Latin America, the graduates of our schools do not receive one-half the consideration given graduates from schools in the North even of lower standing. This has its roots in the superiority complex of Americans in their attitude to the natives, who, as a natural consequence, submit without murmuring, and are perhaps thereby led to develop an inferiority complex.

"Shakespeare has replaced Cervantes as the greatest poet in the world," says Muñoz Marín, "but Cervantes continues to be the 'best seller.' Washington has been appointed the hero of a people who can cut down a forest of cherry trees and remain serenely silent about it. Lincoln is presented as the destroyer of slavery to the grandsons and granddaughters of the slave-owners who requested Spain to free their slaves with or without compensation. The American Federation of Labor through Santiago Iglesias is trying hard to Americanize Porto Rico, but what Mr. Iglesias understands by Americanization is a high standard of living, free speech, and free press; we have the last two to a greater extent than you have in the States, and the first is good rather than American." Those are undeniable facts; where they will lead us nobody knows.

Porto Rico is entirely an agricultural country, but trustification and monopolies have control of the production of the island. The small independent landowner has disappeared and with him the happiness that the mountain peasant enjoyed. A few foreigners representing Wall Street interests have

come and sapped the vitality of the country through economic subjugation of the people. Those who were once farmers are now laborers working for the new employers, their wages ranging from sixty to ninety cents a day, with which they are compelled to buy imported foodstuffs loaded with high duties. This is because the country's lands are devoted largely to the production of sugar cane, the most profitable crop which the invading capitalists can exploit and out of which they make fabulous profits while the people starve. Muñoz Marín referring to these conditions, says: "Profit has been known to surpass 100 per cent per annum, and a very large share of it leaves the island never to return. That is the secret glory of the colonialists. And even this ghastly spectacle of wealth drained from a starving population to the richest country on earth is sanctimoniously entitled in the official reports 'a favorable trade balance.' Those who, if conservative, measure civilization by commercial and industrial growth, and if radical, by labor union activity, lament the mountain regions. You can't start anything there. But the bulk of the folk-poetry, the folk-pottery, the folk-hats, the folk-hammocks and the folk-nobility comes from the mountains. These forsaken *Jibaros*, pale, frequently blond, always poverty-stricken, form the most consistently unmixed body of Europeans on the Island."

The hurricane of September, 1928, revealed the fact that Porto Rico is suffering from the worst of economic and governmental maladjustments ever known to history. According to reports, half the population, about 700,000, were left homeless. In Florida, on the other hand, where the strength of the cyclone surpassed that in Porto Rico, only about 15,000 were left homeless, while the property loss was far greater than in Porto Rico. Actually the large number mentioned were not left homeless in Porto Rico as was reported; because they had never had any homes.

Our politicians have always held

that our evils are political. They believe that the only remedy will come through a larger measure of self-government, which undoubtedly we need. Our act of organization should be revised so as to make our legislature, not the President of the United States, as at present, the final arbiter in regard to local legislation. Generally American presidents know little or nothing about local matters in Porto Rico. The tariff needs revision so as to give Porto Rico the opportunity to make commercial agreements with other countries and to buy necessities where the people can obtain suitable prices and not be compelled to buy through the United States and subject to the American protective tariff. There is need also of the reclamation of the peasantry and of its land. Something such as was done with the Friar lands of the Philippines should be done with the immense tracts of land owned by single corporations and monopolies. The establishment of homesteads and the encouragement of the raising of staple products and articles of first necessity instead of that "cursed" sugar cane, are the only means of bringing back happiness and joy to our mountain regions and prosperity to our cities. Then prosperity will be real and not fictitious as at present.

The political question has apparently no solution at present. Porto Ricans firmly stand on their claims that they have not sufficient self-government. Their contention is based chiefly on the power of the President to appoint our Chief Executive and some of the most important Cabinet members and on the President's exclusive privilege to veto Porto Rican legislation even of local character. But the United States stands just as firmly on the claim that the island has as much self-government or more than it should have, some contending that it surpasses that of certain States in the Union. The claim is also made that the island is not yet prepared for a larger measure of autonomy, with reservation of the right to determine when the required prepara-

tion will be reached. For this reason public opinion in the island is divided.

The large majority of Porto Rican political leaders have discarded the idea of independence as impracticable and illusory and now ask for an autonomous free State. Those who used to clamor for statehood have also abandoned their hopes on account of the racial, cultural and geographic obstacles which seem to become more and more pronounced. A large section, led by a naturalized Spaniard of great ability, does not care how the island is governed as long as Americanization goes on and the laboring classes are given an opportunity to redeem themselves. This section seems to discount the influence of a political status on the economic and social conditions of a country. They form the majority of the Constitutional Socialist party and their aims are merely social reform. Finally, there is a small number who still adhere to the ideal of independence and are willing to defend it in the field of politics despite its utter impracticability and the impossibility of its realization. These form a nucleus known as the Nationalist party, led chiefly by Porto Rican intellectuals and some Spaniards. Besides these groups there is a large element of thoughtful individuals who adhere to no party or platform, for they are disillusioned and regard the island's political situation only as a minor element in America's economic purpose destined to little consideration except as circumstance or emergency demands a move. Underneath all these differences, however, there is seething in the heart of every Porto Rican an unsatisfied desire for freedom and independence.

Yet it must not be thought that the islanders do not appreciate the work of the United States or that they have no affection for their adopted country. During the war the call to the flag was more promptly and gladly answered in Porto Rico than in many States of the Union; all the various quotas for the different war projects were more than filled. But the islanders see no hope in complete union with America nor

do they see in the signs of the times any change in America's unsuccessful but obdurate and obstinate colonial policy. They love the United States as they never loved Spain, but they love their little island more. Muñoz Marín describes this sentiment accurately when he says:

"Perhaps the sharpest difference between Porto Rican development and that of the rest of Latin America lies in the fact that there never has been a serious movement for Porto Rican independence. But the sentiment for independence is real enough among young fellows and the common people, and it only waits to be organized by a politician with some poetry in his make-up." The reason for this is indicated in the following words of this same writer: "The Americans came in the name of liberty and democracy and destroyed the liberal parliamentary government wrested by Louis Muñoz Rivera from Spain two months before the outbreak of the war."

The message of the Porto Rican Legislature to President Coolidge sent through Colonel Lindbergh when visiting the island, although rather equivocal, closes with the following significant words: "The good wishes of Porto Rico will go with you to the land of the brave and the free; and to your country, and to your people, you will convey the message of Porto Rico, not far different from the cry of Patrick Henry: 'Liberty or death.' It is the same in substance, but with the difference imposed by the change of time and conditions. The message of Porto Rico to your people is: 'Grant us the freedom that you enjoy, for which you struggled, which you worship, which we deserve, and you have promised us.' We ask the right to a place in the sun, this land of ours, brightened by the stars of your glorious flag." Mr. Coolidge's letter to Governor Towner in answer to that message was of the usual kind. It

betrayed ignorance of our feelings and of our conditions; but it was highly commended by a large part of the American press which refused to wait for the Porto Rican point of view and jumped at conclusions somewhat preconceived in the desire to justify an unjustifiable policy. Dr. Córdova Dávila, who as resident commissioner of Porto Rico in Washington represents the island in the House of Representatives, but with very little to say and no vote even on Porto Rican legislation, points to the unfulfilled promise of greater freedom implicit in the Treaty of Paris of 1898. Contrasting the autonomy which Porto Rico enjoyed when the United States took possession with the present régime, he shows how the government was then entirely Porto Rican without any Spanish intervention in the country's local affairs. Instead of one representative without a vote, the island had eighteen fully accredited Deputies to the Spanish Cortez with full rights and privileges. "Why should the Congress of the United States attempt to legislate for Porto Rico on purely local matters?" Dr. Dávila asks. "Why should Senators and Representatives introduce bills restricting the limited liberties we enjoy? * * * We in Porto Rico are so uneasy when Congress is in session that the adjournment of Congress is for Porto Rico a great relief."

Commenting on this, Dr. Barceló, president of the Porto Rican Senate, says: "If there is progress in the abstract, the concrete shows great misery; and if the people of Porto Rico must suffer the consequence of a judgment superficially formed on the abstract indices of progress, it is our duty to protest against the concrete sorrow of poverty."

Both these points of view, the one political and the other economic, are firmly based on facts drawn from actual experience in Porto Rico and not on hearsay or the opinion of "experts."

The Problem of Prohibition Enforcement

By *ALBERT BUSHNELL HART*

PROFESSOR EMERITUS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY; CHAIRMAN,
BOARD OF CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATES

HOWEVER ELSE the Eighteenth Amendment and its ancillary, the Volstead act, are negatively disliked, they positively are a boon to the newspaper and periodical press. Erase from the files all the discussions, the incidents, the debates, the attacks with rejoinders, the judicial decisions, and the unofficial curses of the last eleven years, and a considerable percentage of our newsprint would be blank. Not since anti-slavery days has the country experienced such an inextinguishable flame of anger and antipathy. Is it possible that a constitutional amendment, recently put through Congress and ratified by forty-six of the forty-eight States, is questioned or opposed by many public men and by millions of voters?

In the midst of this turmoil, the nation seems to have forgotten how national prohibition came about. It was preceded by an out-of-doors agitation, which began about a century ago, and won its first victory in the "Maine law" of 1846. Thirty-three of the States of the Union passed prohibitory acts, which were in force before the Eighteenth Amendment was enacted. The present constitutional argument that a governmental prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors is an abridgment of the natural rights of American citizens is exceedingly difficult to maintain, in the face of the numerous statutes and articles of State Constitutions on that subject.

Likewise, it is a stubborn, undeniable fact that every British colony on the continent of North America, every one of the thirteen communities converted

by the Revolution into States, and every one of the thirty-five States later admitted, have abridged the sale and use of liquor by statutory legislative acts for regulating the places and the manner of the sale of liquor; and by legislation against over-use of liquor, particularly drunkenness. Never in the existence of the United States has there been unrestrained liberty to use or to sell intoxicating liquors in any desired place and to any desired degree.

The reasons for these statutes, always regulatory and in some States prohibitive, were partly a desire to obtain a revenue for Colonial or State Governments, and partly to lessen the numbers of men and women who would ruin themselves with drink. A later reason for such legislation in the last few decades, particularly in the Southern States, has been the desire to make it difficult for laborers—especially field and factory laborers—to obtain an indulgence which lessened their value as laborers. Hence an element of unreality about prohibition laws in States where most of the laborers were negroes, and where white men had very little difficulty in getting what they wanted. Some corporations, especially great railroad systems, then as now, have refused to employ men who use liquor, and therefore might endanger property or lives.

To enforce State liquor laws has always been hard, particularly where a neighboring State did not restrict liquor manufacture or traffic; for it was easy to ship the forbidden liquids from a wet State into a dry State. Hence several successive "original

package" acts of Congress, prohibiting interstate traffic in liquors from a wet State into a dry State. This brought the liquor question before the judicial machinery of the Federal courts.

Thus matters stood in 1918—a very strong, well-organized propaganda, based on moral and social grounds, combined with the conviction of employers, not only of crude farm labor but also of railroad employes, that the free use of liquor diminished the productivity of commercial enterprises.

The question of prohibition was brought to a head in 1917-18, when hundreds of thousands of men were gathered in camps to prepare for service in the World War. At that time, thirty States had prohibitive or restrictive laws on their books; and most of the other fifteen States had enacted tax or other limitations. It was the deliberate judgment of the army authorities that the use of liquor, immoderate or moderate, diminished the military capacity of soldiers. For the first time, therefore, the United States Government insisted on prohibition for armies in the field, and so far as possible for armies in process of formation.

The first Federal prohibition act was enacted a few days after the Armistice of November, 1918. Meanwhile, the Eighteenth Amendment, submitted by Congress in December, 1917, came before the State Legislatures. On Jan. 16, 1919, it was proclaimed that thirty-six States had ratified the prohibition amendment. There was no surprise about the matter, no suppression of evidence, no organized protest against the alleged denial of God-given rights. None of the seventeen constitutional amendments was ratified so quickly and by such a majority—forty-six States for, and two not acting. Not one of the previous seventeen amendments was more discussed. The first national prohibition act, called the Volstead act, went into effect in October, 1919.

No candid student of the period of the Eighteenth Amendment can deny that the action was taken with open doors, with every opportunity for objection in the press, in public meetings,

in both houses of Congress, and in the State Legislatures which passed on ratification. There was no surprise. Every intelligent person in the United States in 1918 knew what a prohibitory law was.

An immediate effect of the new system was the disappearance of public open saloons which had become embedded in the political system of the country. They made decisions on State and local legislation; they cracked the whip over public men. Hence, there seemed to be a general feeling of relief when that system was put to the ban.

Nevertheless, both outside and inside the country, forces were organized almost immediately to make ineffective the Eighteenth Amendment and the laws for carrying it out. The first difficulty was the existence of expensive factories of intoxicating liquors, especially the distilleries and the breweries. In the United States no provision ever has been made for indemnifying either manufacturers or dealers when a prohibition act affected their business. The amendment, and the State and Volstead acts, recognize no property rights in the earning capacity of factories, or retailers' premises, or the good-will of the liquor business. The country has seemed entirely indifferent on that point.

The manufacture of liquor has continued since the Eighteenth Amendment, usually in a surreptitious way, often by bribing government officials. Doubtless a considerable quantity is produced within the United States, particularly beer and other fermented liquors; and there is more moonshining in the South than in the older days.

An important—perhaps a main—difficulty arises from the need of legal manufacture of alcohol to be used in the arts.

The main supply of liquors is imported from outside the country and keeps up steadily, and not always stealthily. It is a question which is the main supply, this, or the diversion of industrial alcohol, or the manufacture, in moonshine stills, from corn sugar. "Bootlegging" was no new term and no

new industry; it paralyzed prohibitive laws in several of the Southern States, and license laws in others. The terms "blind tiger," "blind pig" and "speak-easy" originated in New York, in pre-prohibition days. Modern bootlegging offers a new experience in criminal organization, by building up an armed international combination which openly defies the Government of the United States, often forcibly defends itself against capture, and has a very low opinion of prohibition forces who fire upon a private vessel.

The water craft employed in this international trade is partly under foreign flags, partly under the United States flag, and partly under no flag—that is, the black flag. This traffic is very hard to deal with, first and foremost because it is openly financed by American bankers. Some large and otherwise respectable banks in New York City make a practice of lending money in \$50,000 or \$100,000 lots to persons who have no place of business, except on their semi-piratical speed-boats. Another trough for hard liquor, and some soft liquor, runs from various Provinces of Canada into the United States; and the Canadian provincial governments do not think it is their business to interrupt such a profitable business. This wholesale smuggling has obstructed the entire process of enforcing the laws of the United States.

The bootleggers are prosperous because of the undoubted increase of drinking habits, especially among the well-to-do. The stock-in-trade of the comic papers and the movies is the combination of the college student and the golfer and the poker player with the bootlegger. The sudden growth of automobiles, capable of swift disappearances, greatly adds to the difficulty of getting at the open and professional breakers of the law. No doubt a lot of the purchasers from the bootleggers are otherwise respectable persons, many of them members of churches and directors of banks.

One of the mysteries of our times is the large number of families who,

twenty years ago, got on very well on German beer and red wine and English porter, but now cannot exist without the hardest kind of hard liquors at the stiffest prices exacted by the professional breakers of the law.

The bootlegging trade, involving more or less piracy and murder, would, of course, diminish if the right people could get the right liquor at the right price without breaking so many laws. Other countries are awake to the alcoholic problem, and several have chosen a different method from prohibition. In England the public houses, which are a source of much drunkenness, are in the hands of responsible dealers, and the hours of sale are limited. In Finland, public houses are entirely prohibited, though one can legally get liquor with meals, as formerly under the Raines law in New York City. In Sweden, the principle is that the man who does not care much for liquor can easily get a permit to buy a certain quantity; while the man who cannot live without liquor has no legal right to purchase. In Germany, most of the liquor is sold by dealers and innkeepers who are "among the first citizens of our municipality." The American experience of saloons and saloonkeepers does not encourage any expectation of securing good and considerate moral and law-abiding purveyors of liquor. All in all, the present prosperity of the bootlegging profession is disgraceful to a community whose civilization is based on law and order. Are there no remedies for the present disgraceful state of things?

A device which has been persistently urged by some men of great experience in the law is to declare that that part of the present Constitution which is entitled "The Eighteenth Amendment" is unconstitutional because it is not in accordance with "the principles of the Constitution." That idea, if carried to its logical effect, would prevent any amendment to the Constitution on any subject with which our forefathers forbore to deal. Regulation of railroads, of automobiles, of airships, of radio, on that principle would be illegal; because

it did not occur to our forefathers that there could be such instrumentalities.

Another form of objection is that constitutions cannot deal with "personal rights." This idea is flatly contrary to the fact that there has never been a written or unwritten constitution which did not in many respects limit the action of the individual. Particularly with respect to what a man may put into his mouth, laws and constitutions have been very emphatic. The argument that there can be no constitutional right to prohibit the use of liquor would be equally strong against a constitutional right to prohibit the manufacture, sale and use of dangerous drugs and narcotics. Doubtless, a searcher could find not less than 1,000 statutes on the books of the States and of the Union which forbid or limit or regulate the use or the sale or the purchase of soft liquors, hard liquors, drugs, narcotics and food.

However logical that statement, it does not dispose of the fact that a good many thousand people, who ordinarily obey the laws, would like to be relieved from the effect of laws relating to the liquor traffic. Lacking legislative action for their relief, they take the matter into their own hands. To be sure, the public, open, corner saloons have disappeared, but the large cities and the small cities abound in "speakeasies" which are a degraded type of saloon, many of them combining another kind of traffic in human passions which no laws have ever succeeded in uprooting. To get away from the amendment and its dependent statutes is absolutely impossible except by a long and bitter campaign for repeal of the amendment, which would in any case require a two-thirds vote in both Houses of Congress, followed by ratification by thirty-six State Legislatures.

Prohibition and regulatory laws have often made a distinction between distilled and fermented beverages. Hence the frequent suggestion that Congress should increase the percentage of allowable alcohol in legal beverages. Much might be said for that method but for two difficulties. The first is

that the "tired business man" no longer wants drinks of moderate strength; his standard is the stiffest whisky that he can buy, and he is willing to pay the stiffest price. The experience of many years with the manufacturers of alcoholic beverages stands in the way of raising the legal alcoholic content, for they have obeyed no State or national law which they could evade with safety. If brewers were now allowed to brew beer of 4 per cent alcoholic strength, it is a fair expectation that they would sell an 8 per cent beer. If they could deal in 7 per cent wines, the bottles might be found to have 20 per cent alcohol.

I believe, however, that it is fair to say that the great brewing companies are scrupulously obeying the present law. It is the small, inconspicuous brewery and private still which breaks the law. Some of the great American brewers before the war were men who were highly respected. At present, the bootleggers seem to be in the saddle in the liquor business, and their principle is to sell the hardest synthetic liquors at the highest prices. Where buyers have no respect for the law, it is hardly to be expected that sellers will abide by its limitations.

The problem of enforcement is a very serious one, complicated by the fact that some of the States (as, for instance, Massachusetts) still have on their books statutes for regulating the liquor business; and those laws, except so far as they might collide with the national amendment and laws, are binding on the people of those States.

The issue of this confused system is difficult to predict. The State and national laws previous to 1918 were hard to enforce. Numerous open saloons existed in the prohibition States, and plenty of blind pigs, blind tigers and speakeasies in the license States; and the addition of a national restrictive agency has not closed those saloons. The effect upon the public mind of this open violation of the laws is very demoralizing. The effect of unrestricted or inefficiently restricted traffic before the amendment was very demoralizing.

Prehistoric Man in America

By *WATSON DAVIS*

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NEW EVIDENCE that human beings may have lived on this continent near the close of the Great Ice Age has been found in a cave full of ancient bone deposits in the lower slope of Bishop's Cap Peak in Southwestern New Mexico. The discovery consists of the fragments of two human skulls and other human skeletal remains, mixed with the bones of many extinct mammals and birds in the sandy deposit that floors the cave. The human bones were so deeply buried and so intimately associated with the bones of extinct species of horse, camel, sloth and cave-bear that a later intrusive interment seems highly unlikely.

The find was due to the enthusiasm of a well-trained amateur excavator, Roscoe P. Conkling of El Paso. Mr. Conkling, whose work for a smelting and refining company has taken him afield a great deal, has occupied his spare time with scientific excavations. Recently he arranged with four other men to locate and make preliminary diggings in any caves near El Paso that might be expected to yield fossil bones. Spurred in addition by a legend that the Bishop's Cap cave contained buried Spanish treasure, these men selected that place as their first venture and began digging. Coming upon bones they thought they might be those of a mule belonging to the old-time treasure hidiers, and dug more feverishly than ever.

Then they turned up fragments of the first skull, at a depth of twelve feet. Realizing at last the nature of their discovery, they reported to Mr. Conkling. Further excavation has been undertaken by the Los Angeles Museum, of which William Alanson Bryan is director, with Dr. Chester Stock as

paleontologist. The second find of skull fragments was made at a depth of eighteen feet, and ten feet distant from the first. Directly between the two was the almost complete skeleton of an extinct ground sloth. All the bone material so far taken out has been removed to Los Angeles, but there is still a great deal of unexcavated earth left in the cave on which work will be continued.

It is expected that this newest clue to man's antiquity in America will add fresh fuel to the fires of controversy that have raged about the discovery of human bones and stone implements associated with the remains of extinct animal species in other places. The most notable of these earlier finds were made at three sites in the Southwest by Harold J. Cook and J. D. Figgins of the Colorado Museum of Natural History, and at two sites in Florida by an expedition under the direction of Dr. J. W. Gidley of the United States National Museum. In all these places stone implements were found associated with the bones of extinct animals; in one or two instances directly underneath the bones. At Vero, one of the Florida sites, a crushed human skull, practically complete, was unearthed in the same stratum of earth that yielded bones and teeth of mastodon and mammoth.

There are two possible interpretations that can be placed on such discoveries of human relics associated with the bones of extinct animals, which have usually been regarded as belonging to the time of the Great Ice Age—a hundred thousand years ago or such a matter. One theory is that man appeared on this continent that long ago. The other is that man came much more recently, but that these animals

survived, in the South at least, much longer than has been credited.

PROTECTION AGAINST CARBON MONOXIDE

While the invention, manufacture and wide distribution of the automobile is a gain to civilization, we must remember that there are the thousands of individuals maimed or killed in automobile accidents and by pollution of the air with engine exhausts. Carbon monoxide is one of the most insidious of these gases, for it has no odor or color and it seizes its victims before they are aware of their danger. In crowded city streets the percentage of carbon monoxide undoubtedly becomes sufficiently high to endanger the health and well-being of traffic policemen and taxi drivers forced to spend long periods in the areas of heavy traffic. One of the most recent safety devices is aimed at removing the menace of partially burned auto fuel. A chemical device to replace mufflers on automobiles that will eliminate the deadly carbon monoxide contained in the exhaust gases has been developed by Dr. J. C. W. Frazer, professor and chairman of the department of chemistry at Johns Hopkins University. An automobile equipped with the new oxidizing device could be run in a closed garage without danger from carbon monoxide poisoning. Because of patent claims, Dr. Frazer has not yet revealed the exact nature of the material that transforms the deadly carbon monoxide to carbon dioxide, the same gas that human beings breathe out of their lungs. But it is known that it is a catalyst, a substance that causes a chemical reaction without itself participating. It is similar in action to the catalyst, consisting of manganese dioxide and copper oxide, that was an outgrowth of chemical warfare work by Dr. Frazer and a laboratory staff during the World War. Fire departments and mine-rescue squads use gas masks today that rely on this wartime catalyst for purifying the air of carbon monoxide. For a year and a half, Dr. Frazer worked to develop the new catalyst that will add oxygen to carbon monoxide even when in direct contact with hot, moist gases.

Laboratory tests and thousands of miles of road testing convince him that a canister of the catalyst substituted for the regulation muffler will not only deaden the noise of the engine explosions but remove all the unburned fuel gases in the exhaust, the ill-smelling one as well as the deadly carbon monoxide. As about a third of the fuel is unconsumed in the engine cylinders, the small canister of catalyst has the task of burning half as much fuel as the engine does. Heat from this reaction may be utilized in some way in future installations, such as for car heating or preheating the fuel.

RAILWAY SIGNAL DEVICE

A flashing beam of light, reflected back to a locomotive from a mirror on the signal post, is the latest protection for railways. The new device is being tested over a stretch of several hundred miles of the German State railways, between Berlin and Munich. From a small searchlight on the front of the locomotive a narrow beam of light is thrown upward all the time the locomotive is



DR. J. C. W. FRAZER

in operation. A ring of light, sensitive cells is located around the searchlight lens. When the train comes to a signal post, the mirror on the post reflects the light back to one of the cells. This starts an electric current, which makes a visible signal in the engine cab, and remains until the engineer acts on it, or, if he does not respond promptly, the train is stopped automatically. Movement of the mirror on the post determines which cell receives the reflected light, and the signal given to the engineer. In order that the wrong signal will not be given by some stray light beam, the light of the searchlight is interrupted 600 times a second by a rotating shutter, and the cells are adjusted to respond only to light of this frequency. The great advantage claimed for this system over previous methods of automatic train control is the simplicity of the apparatus on the track. Previous electrical methods have required an elaborate system of wires and machinery on the track, which were troublesome and expensive to keep in order. In the new method all the complicated apparatus is right on the locomotive where it can be adjusted and repaired in the round house.

A NEW FILM PHONOGRAPH

Born of the talkies, a film phonograph capable of playing continuously for two hours from a 400-foot reel of motion-picture sound film has been perfected by Dr. C. H. Hewlett, engineer of the General Electric Company. From a reel of film small enough to fit into a coat pocket a complete play or opera can be reproduced, which otherwise would require fifteen to twenty ordinary twelve-inch disk records. Talking motion-picture technique allowed Dr. Hewlett to achieve his result. In one of the principal methods of recording sound for the talkies, a jagged line photographed on the edge of the film is the representation of the sound.

Light passes through a narrow slit, through the film onto a photoelectric cell. As the teeth of the jagged line pass by the slit, they vary the amount of light reaching the cell, which in turn varies the intensity of an electric current. When this current is amplified and fed into a loud-speaker, a reproduction of the original sound emerges.

Dr. Hewlett's film phonograph record has no sequence of photographs and contains only sound records. It lacks the perforations of ordinary motion-picture film. At present there is space for nine separate sound tracks side by side, but he hopes soon to increase its capacity to fifteen. When the film has run through once it is necessary to shift to the next sound track. In early models this was done by recording the second track backward, and reversing and shifting when the end was reached. The third track ran forward again, and the operation was repeated until the film ended. Now, however, a continuous loop of film is used, unwinding from the inside as it winds up on the outside, after the fashion of automatic movie machines used for window displays. When a track ends, the machine shifts automatically to the next in a fraction of a second, with practically no interruption of sound. With this system and nine tracks, a program lasting an hour and twenty minutes can be played without attention. With fifteen tracks the machine will play for over two hours. Recording is done through the same kind of microphone as used in radio or ordinary record studios. The light from a 50-watt incandescent lamp passes over a straight edge close to the lamp, and is focused on a small mirror made to vibrate electrically in step with the sound waves. The edge is reflected upon a small slit, so that, as the mirror oscillates, the light shining through varies. A microscope lens focuses this slit on the film one-tenth its actual size, and as the film moves along the jagged line is photographed.

Aerial Events of the Month

NOW THAT THE work of the Byrd expedition has been accomplished, all that remains is to return to civilization as soon as possible. On Jan. 5 the City of New York left Dunedin, New Zealand, on its second trip to the Antarctic for the purpose of bringing the Byrd party home. At the same time the geological sledging party, which under Dr. Gould had been making a survey at the foot of the Queen Maud Mountains, returned to the base on Jan. 19. As the City of New York approached the Ross Sea it became evident that the thickness and solidity of the ice pack around the bay presented considerable danger of the boats not getting in. Several Norwegian whaling ships, which usually at this time of the year are in the Ross Sea, had been turned back, and two were at the time stuck in the ice.

In the meantime it was considered essential that the expedition be out of the Antarctic by the middle of February, as after that time the Antarctic Winter sets in and the ice becomes solid for another year. By Jan. 23 the situation was still serious, with the ice showing no signs of breaking up, and our State Department was requested to ask officially for aid from the Norwegian and British whalers in the Antarctic. The two governments had already unofficially signified that they were ready to help with all possible relief measures, and on Jan. 24 made official promises of aid. The replies did, however, state that in the experience of the Norwegian and British whalers it would still be possible to get out of the bay by the first of March. There was some sign of hope on Jan. 25 when the Byrd party saw whales in the bay and realized that the bay ice was beginning to break up. The boats, however, were still unable to get through the ice, and the commander of the Eleanor Bolling, which left New Zealand on Jan.

20 to join the City of New York a week later on the edge of the ice pack, decided to leave coal on one of the whalers to refuel the City of New York, and on Jan. 28 turned back to obtain more at Dunedin. The City of New York in the meantime was to wait at the edge of the ice.

In the midst of all the preparations for leaving the expedition put some finishing touches on its work by several flights around the Bay of Whales and Discovery Inlet, when some 15,000 square miles of new territory were sighted, surveyed and photographed; what appeared to be a rock was discovered in one part of the bay, and the general appearance of the central part of the barrier led to the conclusion that there was land under it.

The dramatic search for Carl Ben Eielson, the Arctic explorer, and his mechanic, Earl Borland, who disappeared on Nov. 9 when engaged in relief flying for the steamer Nanuk, caught in ice off the coast of Siberia, ended on Jan. 26 when two of the searching aviators discovered the wreckage of Eielson's plane. The crashed plane, which the aviators believed must have been forced down, was found on the coast of Siberia about ninety miles from the stranded Nanuk. It was faintly hoped for a few days that the two fliers might have survived the wreck and gone off on skis in search of help, but the discovery on Jan. 29 of a trapper's cabin not more than six miles from the accident dispelled all hope, although the bodies had still not been found.

Experiments have been made with army planes during the past month. On Jan. 10 twenty-two planes, the Arctic Patrol, under command of Major Ralph Royce, started out on a 7,000-mile trip from Selfridge Field, Mich., to Spokane, Wash., and back again. The purpose of the flight was to demonstrate the efficiency of Air Corps

planes, personnel and equipment under severest weather conditions, and to find the value of short-wave radio communication over long distances and in remote places. There were eighteen pursuit planes equipped with skis, two Air Corps transport planes and two radio planes. The first leg of the trip was to Duluth, which the eighteen pursuit planes reached on Jan. 10 with the temperature near zero. With each leg of the trip severe weather forced several of the planes down, so that on the last leg only four planes reached Spokane on Jan. 17, one transport and three pursuit. Thirteen of the other planes were held at Great Falls, Mont., by a fifty-mile wind and a temperature drop to 40° below. On Jan. 19 the remaining thirteen planes reached Spokane, and the return trip, begun on Jan. 25, ended on Jan. 29. The trip proved, according to Major Royce, that the equipment would be entirely inadequate in case of war under such weather conditions, and that transport planes, carrying extra equipment, which could keep up with the pursuit planes were necessary. Two further facts were established, that the present type of skis are not practical, and that the present type of heater for the engine is valueless after a cold night in the open.

An accident in the last month resulted in a Senatorial debate which caused some little comment. On Jan. 19 a Transcontinental Air Transport Maddux plane, carrying fourteen passengers and two pilots, crashed to earth and burst into flames on the shore between Los Angeles and San Diego, immediately killing all the travelers. Investigators of the Maddux Lines and

of the Federal Department of Commerce stated that the crash was probably due to the pilots being blinded by rain and fog and therefore misjudging the distance from the ground when trying to return to San Diego to avoid a squall. Witnesses of the accident laid it to engine trouble, which forced the pilot to make an emergency landing. Federal and State inquiries were begun immediately. Senator Bingham, president of the National Aeronautic Association, took action for the passing of a bill making mandatory the publication by the Department of Commerce of its findings in serious aircraft accidents. Mr. Bingham further, on Jan. 28, attacked the Department of Commerce for conducting "secret" investigations; in reply to this the aeronautics branch of the department defended its policy, saying that it made public its findings as soon as practicable, and that until provision was made for formal hearings reports could be made only from voluntary and visible sources of information. Major Young, Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Aeronautics, said also that the department does not attempt to determine the legal responsibilities for the accidents. The next day he stated that, in conjunction with representatives of the principal air transport operators, regulations were being drawn up to increase the safety of air-transport operation. Mr. Young stated that he felt that safety in air transport could more readily be insured by flexible provisions made by the department than by legislation passed by Congress. Radio communication, sufficient airports and night lighting were mentioned as particularly important.

CURRENT HISTORY IN CARTOONS



LONDON FASHION NOTE

It looks as though they'll
be wearing 'em shorter
this Spring
—New York Times



"There is a belated change of
expert opinion on the fighting
value of big and costly
battleships.....curious and
envious eyes have turned upon
the now and marvellously
efficient type of "pocket"
battleship" constructed by
the Germans."

—DAILY PAPER.

NOTED IN PASSING
—Evening Standard, London



BERNARD
PARTRIDGE



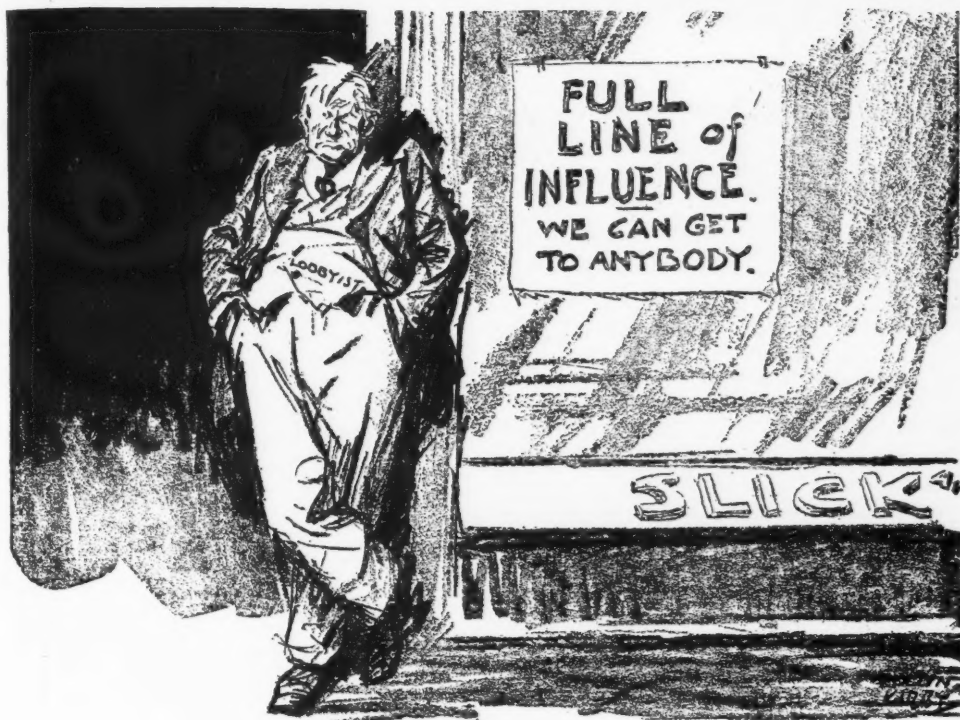
—Punch, London

IN ENGLAND

Government: "I have reduced your hours of employment"

The People: "Can't you reduce the hours of unemployment?"

—Guerin Meschino, Milan



BUSINESS IS TERRIBLE
—New York World



WONDER HOW NOAH GOT THE DUCKS TO COME
OUT OF THE WET
—New York Herald Tribune



UPHILL WORK
—Washington Post



In order that she may rise, Poland must unload the ballast given her by her protecting guardian, France

—Il '420,' Florence



FESTIVITIES IN ROME

Albert to Victor Emmanuel: "Long live —er —his Kingly Majesty"

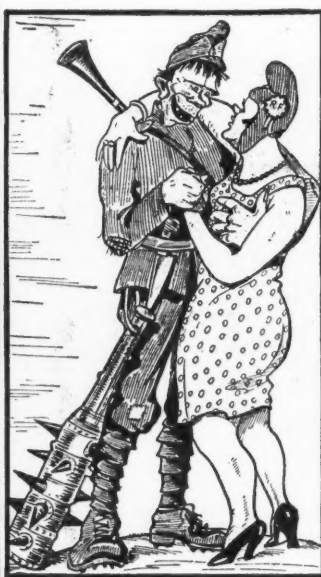
—De Groene Amsterdammer



SOCIALIST FINANCE MINISTERS

Snowden: "I can't possibly give up this German property"
Hilferding: "But you know all property is theft"

—Kladderadatsch, Berlin



FRENCH-YUGOSLAV IDYLL

She: "Remember the first time we met, during the war, and what lovely bombardments we exchanged?"

He: "Yes, and what gorgeous bombs!"

—Il '420,' Florence

**A FOOLISH
ACTION**
—Western Mail
and South Wales
News



THE FIRE WORSHIPER
—Columbus Sun-Enquirer



BURNT
—Philadelphia Public Ledger



HOW FRANCE APPROACHED THE LONDON CONCERT
(Trumpeting "The Demands of France") —*Izvestiya, Moscow*



TO SCRAP SHIPS NOW OR TO SCRAP SHIPS LATER—THAT IS THE QUESTION
—*Chicago Tribune*

THE LOSERS PAY
—*Dallas Morning News*

The Reparation Settlement

By *SIDNEY B. FAY*

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY; AUTHOR OF *The Origins of the World War*;
CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

THE ADJOURNMENT of the second Hague conference on Jan. 20 and the signing of elaborate subsidiary agreements and protocols by representatives of all the powers interested in reparations makes opportune a summing up of the main features of the Young plan and an estimate of Germany's ability to meet its terms. To understand its significance it is convenient to cast a glance backward at a few of the outstanding facts of the long reparations tangle.

In most of the wars of the last three hundred years it has been customary for the victor to exact some kind of indemnity from the vanquished. So it was natural soon after the opening of the World War that the Germans began to speak of the large indemnity which they would impose after their victory over the Allies, which would pay the costs of the war and lighten German taxes. But after a couple of years of weary fighting, when it began to look doubtful whether the Central Powers would win after all, the Germans changed their tune, and took up the slogan, "No annexations and no indemnities." Among the Allies a reverse process took place. At the opening of the war they said nothing of exacting indemnities. They were fighting only for such noble purposes as preserving little States like Belgium and Serbia, maintaining the sanctity of international treaties, and crushing German militarism. But as the war wore on and as France and Great Britain began to feel the crushing financial burden of carrying on the struggle, they on their part began to speak of making Germany pay for the damages she had done. By one of the terms of the armistice, accordingly, Germany

was to make reparation for all the damages she had caused on land, on sea, and from the air.

Between the armistice and the meeting of the Paris Peace Conference Mr. Lloyd George held a "khaki election" in Great Britain and won it on the slogan "Hang the Kaiser and make the Germans pay." Similarly, M. Clemenceau held an election in France with the same promises to the electors that Germany was to be made to pay to the limit. Thus Lloyd George and Clemenceau came to the peace conference with their hands tied. They had come into office on the understanding that immense reparations were to be exacted from the vanquished enemy. If they did not fulfill their promises they knew that they would be turned out of office.

When the peace conference met, the reparation demands talked of by Lloyd George and Clemenceau ran into vast astronomical figures far beyond what President Wilson and his advisers thought either just or within Germany's capacity to pay. In fact during the five months of the conference they were unable to add up their bill of damages, and by the Treaty of Versailles, therefore, Germany was asked to sign a blank check—she was told she must pay a sum which would be stated to her two years later on May 1, 1921. Meanwhile, however, within this two years she must make a first part-payment of 20,000,000,000 gold marks, a large part of which was to be made by "payment in kind," that is, by handing over her shipping, railway stock, cattle, and so forth.

On May 1, 1921, Germany estimated that she had already made payments worth about 37,000,000,000 marks, by

which she had much more than met the first part-payment demanded of her. But the reparations commission, which was dominated by France and which according to the treaty was the legal body to determine reparations questions, decided that Germany had paid less than six of the initial 20,000,000,000 stipulated in the treaty. Impartial American experts calculated that Germany had actually paid somewhat more than the demanded 20,000,000,000.

By May, 1921, the Allies had at last added up their bill of damages against Germany and filled in the blank check for the amount, 132,000,000,000 gold marks,* which she was able to pay (with 4,000,000,000 in addition as a special sum for Belgium). Germany protested that she could not possibly pay such a stupendous sum. But in spite of her protests, under threat of a renewal of military action, she was forced to sign the agreement accepting this liability. This still remains legally her obligation until the Young plan goes into effect, although economists and most statesmen have long since recognized that it was an impossible sum for her to pay.

By the 1921 arrangement Germany was to issue at once bonds for 50,000,000,000 marks at 5 per cent interest plus 1 per cent for amortization. Bonds for the remaining 82,000,000,000 were to be issued later at the direction of the Reparation Commission as soon as Germany was believed to be able to pay interest on them also. At 6 per cent, 50,000,000,000 meant that Germany was incurring an obligation to pay 3,000,000,000 a year at once. But, as even the Allies doubted her ability to pay as much as that during the immediately coming years, they stipulated that she might be allowed to let arrears of

interest pile up to the extent of 1,000,000,000 a year, but she must pay at least 2,000,000,000 a year on these 50,000,000,000 of bonds. Thus, as Germany was not to pay the 132,000,000,000 at once, but only over an indefinite period of years, and was meanwhile to pay interest she was in reality obligated to pay a far greater total sum than 132,000,000,000; she had to pay the principal *and the interest*.

For a year and a half Germany made a great effort to pay this 2,000,000,000 marks, part of which was to be made by deliveries in kind. But she was unable to do so in full. Hence, in January, 1923, she was declared by the Reparation Commission to be in default. Meanwhile President Poincaré and the French were losing patience. They had been spending billions of francs in repairing the ruined districts of Northeastern France, which they thought ought to be paid for by Germany. But they were receiving only a small amount in reparation from Germany because Belgium had a priority claim to the first German payments and because a great amount of the remainder was eaten up by the costs of the French army of occupation of German territory. Losing patience, Poincaré finally decided to occupy the Ruhr, with the ostensible purpose of instilling into the Germans more of a will to pay. French bayonets behind German miners were expected to see that more German coal was mined for the reparation account. But, instead, the indignant Germans in the Ruhr simply sat down in "passive resistance" and refused to work at all. The French soon found that they were getting far less out of Germany than before. Still worse, the occupation of the Ruhr convinced the great majority of Germans that France was trying to ruin Germany economically by shutting off the great industrial Ruhr district from the rest of Germany. It created an ugly feeling of hatred in Germany against France far deeper than had been felt during the war itself. The occupation of the Ruhr also completed the total collapse of the German paper mark and of German

*About \$31,000,000,000. Here and throughout this article figures are given in terms of gold marks, because they are usually in round figures easy to remember, and because all official reckonings concerning reparations are regularly made in terms of gold marks. As a mark is slightly less than a quarter of a dollar (more exactly \$0.2382), one can very roughly change a sum in marks into a sum in dollars by dividing the former by four.

foreign exchange. The only good thing about the French occupation of the Ruhr in 1923 was that it made conditions so bad that, as we shall see in a moment, the Dawes Commission had to step in with new plans for stabilizing the German currency and for providing a reduced scale in German reparation payments.

In times of normal foreign exchange a dollar will buy slightly more than four German marks. After the armistice, for various reasons, a dollar would buy six or eight paper marks. American soldiers noticed this and began to buy up paper marks, intending to make a pretty profit later by selling them at about four to a dollar when the exchange should become normal. Soon the mark sank to twenty or thirty to a dollar, and the more they sank the more the Americans and other foreign speculators bought for a rise. Altogether they bought about 6,000,000,000 marks, worth, all of which eventually proved a complete loss. The German Government at first noticed with astonishment this disappearance from circulation of its paper marks. It began to print more in their place to meet the needs of business. The more the government printed, the more they declined in value as measured in gold or in foreign exchange currencies. With the French occupation of the Ruhr the German Government printed at high speed vast sums of paper marks to supply means of support for the idle "passive resisters." This vast increase of paper money ruined Germany's currency system, disrupted her whole economic life, and caused terrible hardship to millions of people, especially



Daily Express, London

THE HAGUE CONFERENCE

Judge Snowden to the prisoner: "Look here! We won't stand any more of your arguments! You just come up on this bench and help us to work out your sentence!"

those of the middle class. The value of the paper mark sank daily and hourly at an increasingly rapid rate. By the end of 1923 one dollar would buy 4,000,000,000 paper marks.

This collapse of the mark had appalling effects. Business men could not make contracts because they had no idea what the mark might be worth in the near future. All thrift was discouraged, because what was the use of saving money which lost its value so rapidly? All persons who had put money in a savings bank or in life insurance lost practically everything. It was not worth while to write to one's bank to ask for the balance, because the balance would not be worth the price of the postage stamp. The government could not collect its necessary revenue, because the taxes, adequate when fixed by law, were relatively worthless when collected a few weeks or months later. Railways could not meet expenses because the rates could not be adjusted fast enough to keep up with the fall of the paper mark. It was a financial nightmare which Germans have never forgotten, and must be kept in mind when one reads about the "transfer clause" of the Dawes plan

and the postponable annuities of the Young plan.

The Dawes plan of 1924 aided in stabilizing German currency by wiping out the old paper marks and by creating a new limited paper money with a sufficient gold reserve so that it would always be exchangeable for gold and thus be equivalent to a gold mark.

The Dawes plan also marked a great advance over previous discussions of reparations because it was based upon a sounder psychology; it was the work of business men and not of politicians, and it took it for granted that Germany was honest and willing to pay what was possible, and that the Allies were not bent upon crushing Germany politically and economically. It reduced Germany's annual obligation of 2,000,000,000 a year according to the 1921 demand, and fixed for five years a rising scale of annual payments suited to Germany's probable economic recovery. The rising scale started with a payment of 1,000,000,000 gold marks the first year and rose to an annual payment of 2,500,000,000 five years later in 1929. Thenceforth Germany was to pay 2,500,000,000 annually, plus a sum proportional to Germany's further economic recovery as determined by a carefully worked out "index of prosperity." It provided for various allied commissions who were to sit at Berlin and supervise German finance to see that the arrangements contemplated in the Dawes plan were properly carried out. It also indicated that the French should withdraw from the Ruhr, which they did.

The Dawes plan further sought to protect Germany from any such nightmare in foreign exchange as had occurred during the collapse of the mark. Hitherto Germany had had to make reparation payments across the frontier in foreign currencies. The Dawes plan recognized the difficulty of making such vast payments across the German frontier. Henceforth the transfer was no longer the duty of the German Government but of the Allied Agent General for Reparations. He received the reparation payments in marks in

Berlin, and he transferred them to the various allied recipients. But if he found it impossible to transfer reparation payments from Berlin to Paris, London, and the other allied capitals, the "transfer clause" of the Dawes plan provided for a temporary cessation of payments, and so "protected" Germany's foreign exchange.

Though the Dawes plan was a great blessing to all concerned as compared with the economic chaos of 1924, the present writer predicted that within five years it would have to be revised. His prediction was verified by the proposal of the Young plan in the Spring of 1929. With some modifications made at The Hague last August and again this January, the Young plan in many respects marks a great improvement over the Dawes plan. But it also will probably have to be revised within ten or twenty years.

The Young plan is the first agreement that sweeps away the 1921 obligation to pay 132,000,000,000 marks plus an indefinite amount of interest over an indefinite period of years. Instead, for the first time, it fixes a definite number of annual payments over a period of 58½ years from September, 1929, to March 1, 1988, and thus does away with the confusing calculations, involved in the matter of interest, of the "present value" and the total amount of Germany's obligations. As compared with the 2,500,000,000 annuity (plus a sum based on the index of prosperity) of the Dawes plan, the Young plan reduces Germany's annual payments to an average of about 2,000,000,000 gold marks a year for thirty-seven years (1,707,000,000 in 1930 rising to 2,428,000,000 in 1966), followed by annual payments averaging a little over 1,500,000,000 for twenty-two years from 1967 to 1988. The German payments are calculated to cover directly or by way of supplementary inter-allied payments all the "outpayments" for war debts owing by the allied powers to the United States Government, and in most cases to leave a considerable additional fund to each of the Allies for covering part of the cost of

repairing the damages caused by Germany in the war. Great Britain, to be sure, receives much less from Germany than Great Britain has to pay to the United States, but receives enough from France, Italy and her other debtors to make up a total, supplemented by reparations, to cover her payments to the United States. This may be seen at a glance from a table which gives German reparation payments and allied outpayments for a few typical years:

A—German payments in millions of gold marks (or dollar equivalents) to France, British Empire, and total to all Allies.

B—Allied outpayments in millions of dollars to the United States by France, British Empire, and total by all Allies.

(Six ciphers omitted)

1930			
	France.	British Empire.	Total for All Allies.
A—	900 (\$214)	366 (\$87)	1,707 (\$407)
B—	\$35	\$160	\$214
1966			
A—	1,297 (\$309)	410 (\$98)	2,428 (\$578)
B—	\$125	\$182	\$379
AVERAGE 1929-1966			
A—	1,046 (\$249)	409 (\$97)	1,988 (\$473)
1967			
A—	974 (\$189)	357 (\$85)	1,607 (\$383)
B—	\$125	\$181	\$380
1988			
A—	753 (\$179)	-372* (-\$88)*	897 (\$213)
B—No more outpayments to United States except slight sum by Greece.			

*During last three years the British Empire receives payments from her former Allies which she pays into the International Bank.

Under the Young plan, as modified at The Hague conference, about 700,000,000 gold marks, that is, about one-third of the annual payments which Germany is to make for the first thirty-seven years, are "unprotected" by any transfer clause like that in the Dawes plan. These 700,000,000 mark annuities are "non-postponable"; they must be paid by Germany no matter what the state of her foreign exchange may be. These annuities are to be "mobilized" from time to time. This means that upon the request of the allied governments, the International Bank may, at its discretion, require Germany to issue bonds for all or any part of these non-postponable annuities. These bonds would be "com-

mercialized" by being sold to private individuals in Germany and the allied countries, so that Germany will eventually be paying a third of her reparations to individual investors instead of to allied governments. To make individuals willing to buy them it was, of course, necessary to provide that the interest on them should be non-postponable. Being once in private hands and freely bought and sold like ordinary bonds, it will be impossible at any future time for this part of the reparation payments to be scaled down or canceled. This is why Dr. Schacht fought so hard in the Young commission to keep the non-postponable annuities at as low a figure as possible, and why he has criticized the German Government so severely for allowing them to be raised at the first Hague conference last August from the figure of 660,000,000 in the original Young plan to the 700,000,000 finally agreed upon at the insistence of Mr. Snowden.

It is expected that the first "mobilization" of German payments will take place in May, 1930, with the issue of bonds to the extent of \$300,000,000. This will provide both ready cash for the Allies and capital needed in Germany for improvements on the German railways and other undertakings.

The other two-thirds of German payments during the first thirty-seven years are given some "protection" in the shape of a limited postponement in case Germany has economic difficulties at home or finds it impossible to make transfer of payments without upsetting the German foreign exchange. These payments will still be owing to the allied governments and not to private individuals, and it is no doubt the hope of the German Government that these will eventually be scaled down or canceled in whole or in part, just as there has been a steady reduction in the demands on Germany during the past ten years. The Young plan provides that if the United States should eventually have a change of heart and cancel allied war debts ow-

ing to us, there is to be a corresponding reduction of German reparation payments. There are economic and political reasons, mentioned below, for thinking that such reductions may be made in ten or twenty years.

One ingenious part of the Young plan provides for the establishment of an International Bank, which is to have its seat at Basel, Switzerland, with a board of directors appointed by the leading banks of the principal countries interested in reparations and interallied debts. This bank will handle the transfers of moneys in connection with all these payments. It will take the place of the Agent General of Reparations, who under the Dawes plan has had his seat in Berlin. Germany will at the same time be freed from all the financial commissions which have been supervising her internal affairs since 1924, and this will remove

a source of irritation in Berlin. The bank will handle the great operations of foreign exchange, act as a bank of deposit for governments, and make less necessary the shipments of gold from country to country which are so expensive. It is also expected that the bank will make such large profits that a considerable part of the German reparation payments during the last twenty-two years can be paid out of these profits, thus relieving Germany considerably.

The happier international spirit which was inaugurated by the Dawes plan, and furthered by the consequent Locarno agreements and Germany's entry into the League of Nations, also finds expression in that part of the Young plan arrangements which provides for the withdrawal of the French army of occupation from the Rhineland by June 30, 1930, instead of by



Times Wide World

Kirschgarten House, a famous eighteenth century palace in Basel, where the World Bank is scheduled to open its doors on April 1

1935, according to the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. This French occupation of the Rhine Valley has been a subject of great humiliation and resentment to Germans.

German "payments in kind" have often come into competition with goods which the Allies are interested in exporting. German coal, for instance, has been a great competitor to British coal. The Young plan therefore provides for a gradual reduction in the amount of reparations which may be made by means of payments in kind; after ten years these payments in kind are to cease altogether.

Is the Young plan a final settlement of the intricate question of reparations and interallied debts, or will another revision have to be made later? This is a very difficult and uncertain question on which experts are disagreed. Mr. James W. Angell, who has recently made the most scholarly and penetrating study of the subject in his admirable book, *The Recovery of Germany*, is inclined to think that Germany can gradually build up an excess of exports over imports which, with services, tourist money and other "invisible items," will eventually enable Germany to carry out permanently the Young plan. The present writer is less optimistic, and is inclined to think another revision will come at some time in the future. The reasons for this belief can be here stated only very briefly.

There is no doubt that Germany has had a wonderful economic recovery since the adoption of the Dawes plan in 1924. In many lines of commerce and industry, in spite of her losses of territory, natural resources and industries by the Treaty of Versailles or by the effects of the war, Germany has now reached or even surpassed her pre-war production and prosperity. If it were merely a question of making reparation payments within Germany there can be no question that Germany could easily meet the demands of the Young plan. But to transfer payments across the frontier is quite a different matter. In the long run Germany can only make the transfer of reparation payments

by an excess of exports and services over imports; she must build up a favorable balance of trade of more than 3,000,000,000 marks a year. This is necessary to meet the 2,000,000,000 reparation annuity each year, together with the interest on her foreign loans which now amounts to considerably more than 1,000,000,000 marks a year.

Before the war Germany, on the average, always had an unfavorable balance of trade; her exports were less than her imports. The trade balance was kept even by her income from foreign investments, shipping rates, tourist money and other invisible items. But the war deprived her of almost all her foreign investments. Since the war the total of her exports has also been far less than her imports. Nineteen twenty-nine, however, shows a more favorable situation; exports have slightly exceeded imports, creating a very small favorable balance. But it seems doubtful whether she can swell this balance to 3,000,000,000 and more marks a year.

Germany might, to be sure, make her payments under the Young plan as she made them under the Dawes plan—by borrowing abroad. But this could not go on indefinitely, for the more she borrows the more she has to transfer abroad to meet the interest charges on the amounts already borrowed. The amount already borrowed since 1924 is near to 20,000,000,000 gold marks, about a third of which went to making reparation payments, and the other two-thirds to German industries, agriculture and public works. Germany needs foreign capital, but German financiers and economists are becoming more skeptical about the wisdom of so much borrowing abroad, and are likely to be less willing to borrow in the future to the extent that they have borrowed in the past. Borrowing, therefore, is not likely to suffice as a means of meeting all the payments owing both as reparations and interest on loans.

One of the great obstacles in the way of Germany increasing her exports is the wall of tariffs which all her competitors in the international markets set up against her and one another.

And there seems to be no immediate prospect of any considerable breaches being made in these tariff walls which would let German exports more easily into the various countries.

Furthermore, some far-seeing persons are beginning to realize that it is not an unmixed blessing for the Allies to receive the vast sums of reparations, and for the United States to receive the vast sums on war debts owing to her. Creditor nations, in exacting these sums, are compelling the debtor nations, in the long run, to stimulate and increase their exports and industrial efficiency, and thus to come into increasingly dangerous competition in world markets with the goods which the creditor nations themselves would like to export.

Finally, if the United States continues to pay off its own internal war debt, consisting in good part of Liberty Loans, at the same rate that she has been doing in recent years, they will be paid off in some fifteen years. When they have been liquidated what shall we do with the debt payments

still owing to us by the allied powers? Should we have the face to use these annuities from the Allies in paying the running expenses of the United States? If so, would not the Allies again begin to speak of Uncle Sam as "Uncle Shylock," and politely hint that the time had come again for Mr. Owen Young or some similar wise financier and business man (if such could be found) to make a new revision downward both of German reparations and of inter-allied debts? We are inclined to think so; perhaps in fifteen years or thereabouts.

But whether another future revision will be necessary or not, there is no question but that the Young plan marks a great step in the right direction over the Dawes plan, just as the Dawes plan marked a great advance over the chaos of 1924. It is therefore to be hoped that the subsidiary agreements signed at The Hague last January may be ratified as soon as possible, so that the Young plan can come into actual operation.

A MONTH'S HISTORY OF THE NATIONS

NAVAL DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

By *JAMES THAYER GEROULD*

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

NO OTHER international assembly since the Peace Conference has so focused the attention of the world as that which met in London on Jan. 21, 1930, and in all history there has never been another on which has been centred so universal and so passionate a desire for success. President Hoover, in his statement, on the morning the American delegation left Washington, was well within the truth when he said: "The people and the governments of the five nations assembling at this meeting are sincerely desirous that agreement shall be brought about by which competition in construction of naval arms is brought to an end, and by which actual reduction in naval burdens of the world shall be accomplished." With all this unanimity of aim there is nowhere a disposition to minimize the difficulty of substantial accomplishment. Fear and distrust are emotions that are difficult to allay; the habit of mind, persisting throughout all human history, that has accepted war as the natural and proper solution of all international differences, is not easily changed. The Pact of Paris was an affirmation of a new faith, but it is a faith as yet not fully rooted in conduct. It is no derogation from the importance of the pact that it has not immediately transformed the thinking of the world.

It was peculiarly fitting that the George Washington, the ship which

eleven years ago carried Woodrow Wilson to the Peace Conference, should have been chosen to transport the American delegation to London. Of the seven official members, five were on board. With them were nine naval officers and ten representatives of the Department of State, the wives of most of them, with secretaries and clerical assistants, making up a party of over 100. Along with them went more than a score of newspaper correspondents, for whom the voyage was by no means a period of rest. Nor was it to the delegation, whose members met in private conference every day, keeping the newspaper men busy sending through the air column after column of description and comment. Never was a voyage more amply reported; and the fact that newspapers all over the country printed the record so fully is an index of popular interest. The peaceful purpose of the trip and the harmony of the delegation was by no means reflected in the weather, for heavy winds and stormy seas prolonged the journey.

It was not until 8 o'clock on the morning of Jan. 17 that Secretary Stimson's party landed at Plymouth and boarded the special train bound for London. At the dock they were met by Ambassadors Dawes and Gibson, the other two delegates; and as the train sped through the southern counties they held their first meeting. Immediately on his arrival at London Mr.

Stimson called on the Prime Minister at 10 Downing Street; and from that time until the first formal session of the conference the delegation was in almost constant contact with the representatives of the other powers. An amusing instance of how totally unimportant news items of "human interest" usurp momentary attention was the comment of the London papers on the fur coats and silk stockings of the American stenographers. For a day or two the young women threatened to crowd Mr. Stimson off the front page.

The Japanese were already on the ground when the Americans arrived, and had devoted the three weeks after their landing to a series of preliminary conferences designed to make their own national position clear, and if possible to secure the assent of the British to their desire for a 70 per cent ratio in cruisers. The Italian delegation was also on hand, and the French arrived the following day. Although the number of official delegates was only thirty-three, their entourages amounted to nearly 1,000. Add to this their wives and "their sisters and their cousins and their aunts," who accompanied them, and the invasion was formidable.

The names of the delegates follow:

THE UNITED STATES

HENRY L. STIMSON, Secretary of State.
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Secretary of the Navy.
Senator DAVID A. REED (Rep.).
Senator JOSEPH T. ROBINSON (Dem.).
DWIGHT W. MORROW, Ambassador to Mexico.
HUGH S. GIBSON, Ambassador to Belgium.
CHARLES G. DAWES, Ambassador to Great Britain.

GREAT BRITAIN

RAMSAY MACDONALD, Prime Minister.
ARTHUR HENDERSON, Secretary for Foreign Affairs.
ALBERT V. ALEXANDER, First Lord of the Admiralty.
WEDGWOOD BENN, Secretary of State for India.

FRANCE

ANDRE TARDIEU, Premier.
ARISTIDE BRIAND, Foreign Minister.
GEORGES LEYGUES, Minister of Marine.
FRANCOIS PIETRI, Minister of Colonies.
AIME DE FLEURIAU, Ambassador to Great Britain.

JAPAN

REIJIRO WAKATSUKI, Former Prime Minister.
Admiral HYO TAKARABE, Minister of Marine.
TSUNEO MATSUDAIRA, Ambassador to Great Britain.
MATSUZO NAGAL, Ambassador to Belgium.

ITALY

DINO GRANDI, Foreign Minister.
Rear Admiral GIUSEPPI SIRIANNI, Minister of Marine.
A. CHIARAMONTE BORDONARO, Ambassador to Great Britain.
Senator Admiral ALFREDO ACTON.
Admiral BURZAGLI, Chief of the Navy Staff.

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

CHARLES TE WATER, High Commissioner in London.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

J. E. FENTON, Minister of Trade and Customs.

THE DOMINION OF NEW ZEALAND

T. M. WILFORD, High Commissioner in London.

THE DOMINION OF CANADA

J. L. RALSTON, Minister of National Defense.

THE IRISH FREE STATE

DESMOND FITZGERALD, Minister of Defense.
PATRICK MCGILLIGAN, Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Professor TIMOTHY SMIDDY, High Commissioner in London.

INDIA

Sir ATUL CHATTERJEE, High Commissioner in London.

On the afternoon before the first formal session of the conference the delegates were received by King George at Buckingham Palace; and in the evening the British Government gave them a dinner at the Hotel Savoy, followed by a crowded reception at Lancaster House. Everything possible was done by the government to show its cordial welcome and to emphasize the feeling of good-will with which the delegates were inspired. The morning of Jan. 21 was inauspicious, for London was covered with one of those "pea soup" fogs for which it is so justly famous; but by 11 o'clock the delegates had made their way to the Royal Gallery of the House of Lords. Shortly after the hour, at a signal, the buzz of conversation ceased, and through a door at the end of the gallery the King entered, accompanied by the Prime Minister and the Lord High Chamberlain. There were none of the trappings of ceremonial. In ordinary morning costume the King walked slowly to the dais and took his seat on the gilded throne, while he read his address. His voice was clear and strong, showing no evidence of his long illness, and he was heard not only by those in

the room but by many thousands at home and across the sea. In his speech he referred to the pride which each nation takes in its navy, and to the feeling of insecurity that is responsible for naval competition: "Since the Great War all peoples are determined that human statecraft shall leave nothing undone to prevent repetition of that grim and immense tragedy." In application, the principle of reduction of naval armaments is difficult, but he believed that the delegates were "animated with a sincere-minded intention of working, not with any selfish and exclusively nationalistic purpose, but with the noble inspiration and the resolve to remove once for all this particular obstacle from the path of ordered and civilized progress."

When the King had retired the throne was removed, and Mr. MacDonald was elected as permanent chairman of the conference. His address was a passionate appeal for concerted action. Every nation, he said, desires disarmament, but every nation fears that some other will refuse to carry out its obligations. Through the League, through the World Court, through the Pact of Paris, the world is gradually building up a sense of security that will overcome that fear. "Excessive military preparation is not only a waste of national resources, but a weakening of political security. * * * This conference has, therefore, not only to value the securities now afforded to nations by the political guarantees I have referred to, but to agree mutually upon how far they can, on the assumption of a continuing peace, reduce arms." The needs of nations differ, but there is danger if relative needs are overstressed. Although armaments in air, water and on land are interdependent, a beginning must be made somewhere. Agreements reached at this conference could, at the later meetings of the general commission, be related to other arms.

Secretary Stimson, in his reply, emphasized the fact that "naval limitation is a continuous process. We regard disarmament as a goal to be reached by

successive steps, by frequent revision and improvement." While naval disarmament was the present business, "our ultimate aim is a general solution of the disarmament problem and a consequent lessening of the risks of war." Tardieu stressed the necessity for finding a formula that should take into account all of the factors which must be measured; Grandi, the necessity for peace if the Fascist Government is to carry out its far-reaching plans, and Wakatsuki, the necessity for reduction rather than limitation.

When the delegates assembled next morning at St. James's Palace for their first formal session, they were on historic ground. Erected by Henry VIII in 1532, it became, after the burning of Whitehall in 1691, the principal residence of the English Kings. Although the building was partly destroyed by fire in 1809, there still remains a considerable portion of the original Tudor structure. Mr. MacDonald called the delegates to order at 10 o'clock; and, by agreement, the chief representatives of each nation took the floor in turn. Mr. Stimson was the first to speak, but instead of making a detailed outline of the naval needs of America he contented himself with a reassertion of the principle of parity with the largest naval power and a promise that if "general reduction can be secured, our navy will be likewise reduced."

Premier Tardieu followed him in a brilliant speech, in which he argued that the size of a nation's navy should be conditioned by geographical, economic and military factors. It must be able to protect the mother country, bind it firmly to the colonies and guarantee lines of communication. France, he said, had coasts on three seas, a colonial empire larger than all Europe, with 6,000,000 inhabitants. Her lines of communication with its various divisions extended over 34,000 miles; 66 per cent of all French commerce moves over the sea. This must be protected, as must also the lines by which she may bring her colonial troops to the defense of the mother country. "These absolute requirements may in great

measure be transformed into relative requirements. They, therefore, depend * * * on the particular political situation and on the condition of outside security which flows from that situation."

Mr. MacDonald, when he rose to speak, took issue with the French thesis. He would base the strength of the navy, not on "needs" but on "risk." "Naval force and military power are required, not because a country has certain economic needs and certain lengths of coast line and so on, but they must be based on an estimate of how far the threat of the deprivation of those needs is a threat to the security of those coast lines." The United Kingdom is an island, he went on, and that its population may be fed, it must have access to the whole world. Its fleet must be in constant communication with all parts of the empire. It cannot be concentrated. What Great Britain wants, he said, was "confidence that we are living in a world, the seas of which will not be blocked and will not be occupied by hostile fleets which we are unable to meet."

Foreign Minister Grandi, speaking for Italy, insisted that she must have parity with any other Continental country. Her maritime communications are essential for the supply of food and raw materials. Geographically she is unfavorably placed, and with justice she might demand superiority rather than parity. She will, nevertheless, "reduce her armaments to any level, no matter how low, provided that level is not excelled by that of any other European Continental power."

Japan, said Wakatsuki, pleads for actual reduction rather than for simple limitation. The condition peculiar to each power must be kept in mind in determining the relative strength of armaments. The Washington agreement regarding battleships had contributed much to the maintenance of world peace, and it should be extended by further limitation.

A day-by-day review of the conference, and any attempt to record in detail its discussions, would be as

wearisome as it would be useless. The first duty of each of the delegations is to make a clear statement of its case, not only for its direct effect on the other delegates, but, much more, that its people at home may feel that their position has been given due attention and that other nations are properly informed regarding it. All this takes time. Then there must be a discussion of the various categories, of their relation each to each and of the need for each. Finally, if there is to be any satisfactory solution of the problem the political questions involved must be faced, and, if possible, solved. These issues lie just beneath the surface in all of the arguments advanced. In effect, the spokesmen of all of the nations declared that if they could be assured of security they would considerably reduce their armaments. This was implicit even in the words with which Mr. Stimson opened the conference. We demand parity to insure free use of the sea. That granted, our absolute requirements are at once reduced. Thus far our delegates have refused to commit themselves on any political issue. Whether this position can be maintained remains to be seen.

At various times it has been authoritatively stated that our delegation does not favor the total abolition of battleships, which it considers to be the "core" or the "backbone" of the fleet. Just what this means has not been explained. We are willing, however, to lengthen the life of the battleship, to postpone replacement until 1936, to reduce somewhat both tonnage and gun calibre, and to be content with a smaller number of units. Great Britain, France and Italy seem willing to abolish them altogether; although the "blue water" party in Great Britain would be in violent opposition. The American delegation insists that the discussion of the battleship must follow rather than precede the consideration of other types of vessels.

The French suggestion that there be a certain amount of elasticity as between categories, within a definite global tonnage, seems to be gaining

ground, but the Americans insist that the number of 10,000-ton cruisers shall be definitely limited.

The naval status of merchantmen has hitherto, in disarmament conferences, been kept in the background, but on Jan. 27 Japan asked that it be placed on the agenda. The reason is obvious. Within a very short time a merchant liner can be transformed into an auxiliary cruiser, mounting 6-inch guns, or into an airplane carrier with capacity limited only by its size. Of such boats, Great Britain has 3,150,000 tons; the United States, 880,000; France, 430,000; Italy, 400,000, and Japan, 250,000. The Japanese claim that the attempt to deal with the matter in the Washington Treaty was so indefinite as to be totally ineffective.

A very important statement covering the present American position was sent by Secretary Stimson to the heads of the British and Japanese delegations on Feb. 6. In brief, it provides for immediate parity with Great Britain in every class of ships; for the reduction, in 1931, of the battleship fleet to 15 vessels each; for the limitation of 10,000-ton 8-inch-gun cruisers to 18 for the United States and 15 for Great Britain, and of the smaller cruisers to a total of 147,000 tons for the United States and 177,000 for Great Britain, with a proviso that, if it is desired, either nation might duplicate the cruiser fleet of the other. In other words, parity is established at 327,000 tons. If Great Britain wishes to increase the number of its large cruisers to 18, she may do so by decreasing her fleet of small cruisers. If we, on the other hand, wish to build more small cruisers, we can do it by reducing our force of large cruisers. As regards submarines, our delegation, while continuing to urge their total abolition, would apply to them the same rules of international law as are in op-

eration regarding surface craft and which require them, when attacking a merchant vessel, to provide for the safety of passengers and crew.

A no less important statement, containing Great Britain's proposals, was issued by Mr. MacDonald on Feb. 7. As it had been prepared several days beforehand, it was not intended as a reply to the American statement. Summarized, the British proposals in regard to different categories of vessels were as follows:

1. Battleships—Eventual abolition, or failing that, a construction holiday until 1935; all capital ships to be brought down in number in 1931 to the level which the Washington Treaty proposes for 1936; reduction in the maximum size of any future battleships from 35,000 to 25,000 tons, and reduction of the maximum gun calibre from 16 inches to 12 inches; diplomatic negotiations among the powers as to battleships between the present conference and another to be held in 1935.

2. Aircraft Carriers—Reduction of the Washington Treaty allotment of 135,000 tons for Great Britain and America to 100,000 tons; reduction of the maximum size to 25,000 tons, and limitation of craft of less than 10,000 tons.

3. Cruisers—One class for all cruisers; limitation of cruisers both by guns and tonnage.

4. Destroyers—Limitation of tonnage for Great Britain and America to 200,000 tons, subject to reduction; limitation of the size of leaders to 1,850 tons, and destroyers to 1,500 tons, with a maximum of 5-inch guns.

5. Submarines—Abolition, or failing that, limitation in size and number to make submarines a defensive force; limitation in the use of submarines against merchant vessels.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By ARTHUR SWEETSER

THE variety of activities of the League of Nations during January provided a good illustration of the wide ground covered in its first decade. An important session of the Council considered the relationship of the covenant and the Kellogg pact, the plans for the tariff truce conference and other matters; informal meetings of Foreign Ministers permitted pre-London naval discussions; technical committees investigated the world coal and wheat problems; the opium committee began most important discussions on limitation of manufacture; the financial committee took up Greek and Bulgarian reconstruction, while Latin America produced its share of interest with the recrudescence of the Bolivia-Paraguay difficulty and the accrediting to the League of a Mexican observer and a permanent Peruvian delegate.

This, the fifty-eighth session of the Council, which ended on Jan. 16, exactly ten years to a day from the date of the first meeting called in Paris by Woodrow Wilson, was the quickest, least controversial and most unified yet held. No active dispute was on the agenda. The minorities problems, which previously had almost always caused difficulties, dissolved in an atmosphere of friendly conciliation, while two pairs of neighboring Foreign Ministers, the French and the Italian, and the Polish and the Lithuanian, who had not met for years, had the opportunity of informal discussion. Despite this, the tenth anniversary of the League, so widely celebrated in other places, passed quietly in Geneva. The Council paused in its deliberations for a few commemorative remarks by Mr. Zaleski, the acting President, and M. Quinones de León, the Spanish member, the only one, except the Secretary General, who had been present at the first session.

Important declarations were made

by both the British and the French Foreign Ministers when the Assembly resolution came up for the appointment of a committee to bring the covenant into harmony with the Kellogg pact. Mr. Henderson, in a long analysis of the merits and relationship of the two documents, was careful to point out that the British initiative implied no lack of faith in the covenant. "On the contrary," he said, "we regard the covenant as the fundamental constitution of the organized international society of States. * * * We regard the League, with its Assembly, its Council, its Secretariat and its other organs as an indispensable instrument for the development of international cooperation and the maintenance of world peace." M. Briand stressed the fact that he had never regarded the two documents as antagonistic but rather as complementary. He hoped, therefore, that the committee of eleven members which was thereupon appointed would be given wide terms of reference "not only to study by what future methods war could be condemned but also to consider means whereby obstacles other than mere words could be placed in the way of this formidable instrument, war."

Government replies as to the desirability of a conference to consider a customs truce were examined by the Council and the decision taken to convene the conference on Feb. 17. All the European members of the League had signified their willingness to attend, as well as Cuba, Brazil and the Dominican Republic. An interesting indication of how far League discussions are extending and what new fields of diplomacy they are opening up was shown in the report of the German representative, Dr. von Schubert, urging all governments to follow the precedent already set by several of sending their Ministers of Trade and Commerce. "It is

essential," he said, "that the Ministers concerned should arrange to keep as closely in personal touch with the economic work of the League as Ministers of Foreign Affairs do with its political work."

Several interesting problems developed during the discussion of the report of the Mandates Commission. When the recent Palestine difficulty, notably the Wailing Wall, came up and with it the difference which had developed between the mandatory power and the commission regarding the holy places, the Council finally decided after long consideration that a commission of three should be appointed, none of whom should be British, whose duties would cease as soon as they had pronounced on the respective rights and claims of Jews and Moslems at the Wailing Wall. Great Britain's notification of its intention to recommend Iraq's admission to the League in 1932 raised for the first time the question of the termination of a mandate, the Council deciding that, while the admission of a State to the League was a question for the Assembly, the Council should decide when the provisions of Article 22 of the covenant should cease to be applicable, and the Mandates Commission should therefore be asked for its views as to the general conditions which would have to be fulfilled before a mandate could come to an end. Another interesting decision was taken as to South Africa's use of the word "sovereignty," the Council feeling it had no reason to modify its opinion that sovereignty in the traditional sense is not vested in the mandatory power.

The interdependence of diplomacy and parliamentary action was stressed by the British representative, who pointed out that the work of League conferences would not be effective unless ratified by Parliaments. The delay in ratification of League conventions which had led the last Assembly to suggest the establishment of a committee of investigation was felt by him to be due not so much to ill-will as to certain "factors connected with the

procedure and machinery of ratification and the pressure on parliamentary time in democratic assemblies which had to agree to ratification." The normal practice of governments, he stated, should be to have ratification follow speedily after signature unless there were the gravest reasons for delay. To make good this viewpoint he informed the Council that the British Government was submitting for ratification immediately the optional clause signed last September.

An entirely new procedure in League technique, reminiscent of question hour in the House of Commons, was forecast when the British representative asked the Secretary General what progress could be reported on the new League buildings. Whether or not this action, which was shortly repeated for another matter, may become a precedent for a new type of corporate Council responsibility, the Secretary General explained the progress which had been made and the reasons for delay. A further American contribution to the new League home, alongside the Rockefeller Research Library, was reported to the Council by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation which donated its 1929 award to the League in recognition of its ten years' record.

For the first time in the League's history a committee of agricultural experts met in January to consider the world's wheat problem. Loyd V. Steere, United States Agricultural Commissioner in Berlin, presented a long report to the committee urging the nations "to recognize the need of bringing world acreage into line with the exigencies of the situation in order to correct the present supplies position." A report was made to the economic committee, with detailed recommendations for future action.

The basic problem in regard to coal is essentially the same as that of wheat and sugar—surplus stocks and overproduction. As no single country can deal effectively with the problem, the last Assembly asked the International Labor Organization to study the question of obtaining an international

agreement in regard to hours. A preparatory technical conference composed of government delegates, mine owners and miners, agreed that the question is now ripe for action and should be placed on the 1930 labor conference agenda.

What was expected to be the most important meeting of the Opium Advisory Committee yet held began toward the end of January to consider the limitation of manufacture as adopted in principle by the last Assembly. Various suggestions to this end had been made, and after discussion of the annual reports of governments and certain questions of seizures, the committee made ready for a two or three weeks' discussion of a far-reaching sort. John K. Caldwell of the Far Eastern Division of the State Department took part in the work of the committee, while Herbert L. May of Pittsburgh had previously participated as a member of the Permanent Central Opium Board in the development of a scheme of international statistical information.

On Jan. 2 the Mexican Foreign Minister announced the appointment of a permanent observer at Geneva in the

person of Antonio Castro Leal, formerly Secretary of the Mexican Embassy at Washington, while Peru announced the appointment of José Maria Barreto as head of a permanent Peruvian Secretariat at the seat of the League.

The end of the month saw a recrudescence of the Bolivia-Paraguay dispute, which first broke out in December, 1928, on the day when the Council was opening its session at Lugano and the Pan-American Conference, at Washington. Paraguay telegraphed the Secretary General regarding certain developments in the Chaco district; the Secretary General at once notified Bolivia and the members of the Council; the Bolivian Government stated its viewpoint; the president of the Council urged both States to remember their obligations for peaceful settlement; and, while it was not clear at the moment how serious the situation might be, it was obvious that the machinery of peaceful settlement had been very quickly set in motion and a wholly new procedure developed in international life where a dispute in a distant part of the world becomes almost instantly known to all other parts.

THE UNITED STATES

ON MARCH 4, 1929, just a year ago, Herbert Hoover stood on the steps of the Capitol facing Chief Justice Taft and took the oath of office as President of the United States. Looking forward at that moment the future was crowded with enough national problems to demand the wisdom of half a dozen Presidents and looking back from the present point of vantage it is amazing to contemplate the scope of one President's activities.

Mr. Hoover's first year is remarkable not so much for problems solved and evils remedied by him as for trends set in motion and work undertaken which should bear fruit in the

future. This is because no ready-made solutions existed for the subtle and far-reaching problems which faced the President—at least no immediate cures which would appeal to a man of Mr. Hoover's mental calibre.

Although it is impossible at this stage to estimate the ultimate value of Mr. Hoover's policies, nevertheless a survey of the past year reveals in his acts certain guiding principles, certain methods of attack. It is possible to answer, tentatively at least, the question every one was asking a year ago: "What sort of President will this super-engineer make?"

That the new President would pursue an active foreign policy was

certain. As President-elect he toured Latin America in the interests of foreign trade and to dispel fears of United States imperialism. In his inaugural address he spoke of armament limitation and machinery for arbitration. On April 22, less than two months after inauguration, he took the first step in a progressive program aiming not only at limitation but at actual reduction of navies. This was the proposal by Ambassador Hugh Gibson, delegate to the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, at Geneva of the "yardstick" idea, a new plan for measuring navies on the basis of "equivalent values." It recognized that national needs differ and provided that tonnage could be transferred among categories of ships, and it became the basis for negotiations at the London conference nearly a year later. That the idea emanated from President Hoover was obvious from Ambassador Gibson's speech and also from the President's Memorial Day speech (May 30) which reiterated and enlarged the program. Mr. Hoover now stressed actual reduction as opposed to mere limitation and said that it was time to prove by action our sincerity in signing the Kellogg pact.

From this declaration it was a logical and singularly fortunate step to the Dawes-MacDonald conversations during the Summer of 1929. Charles G. Dawes, newly appointed Ambassador, landed in England on June 15 and immediately began the informal talks with newly appointed Prime Minister MacDonald which resulted in the announcement on Sept. 13 that the two governments had reached a preliminary agreement based on parity and reduction in every category of ships, and would invite France, Italy and Japan to join in a general conference in London. This opened the way for Mr. MacDonald's most cherished project—his visit to the United States in October. Just as Mr. Dawes's brusque directness had pleased the British, so Mr. MacDonald's charm and sincere idealism appealed to the American imagination. The Hoover-MacDonald

talks on the Rapidan delighted the popular mind and the joint statement given out by the two statesmen on Oct. 9 allayed the fear abroad of an Anglo-American entente.

On July 23 the President took another step toward disarmament when he announced that the army and navy budget estimates must be substantially reduced in view of the new situation induced by the Kellogg pact and the fact that our war budget was the largest in the world. On the following day he proclaimed the pact in effect with solemn ceremony and simultaneously issued an executive order suspending work on three of the cruisers authorized by the cruiser bill of February, 1929.

His Armistice Day address on Nov. 11 provided Mr. Hoover with an opportunity of making another contribution to the discussion of peace—a proposal to make food ships immune to blockade in time of war. This suggestion evoked little enthusiasm and action on it was postponed to the future.

The London conference convened on Jan. 21 and is in session at this writing. Mr. Hoover spoke repeatedly of his high hopes for its success and it may be judged from the events here outlined just how much he contributed toward the chances of success by his consecutive and carefully thought out program begun soon after his inauguration.

Three other government actions in foreign affairs stand out. At President Hoover's order the United States representative at Geneva signed the World Court protocols with the accepted Root reservations on Dec. 9. This practically assured our membership, although Senate ratification was indefinitely put off.

A precedent in foreign policy was set when Secretary Stimson (undoubtedly on the President's authority) intervened in the Chinese-Soviet dispute to remind both parties of their obligations under the Kellogg pact. The message to the Soviet, relayed through the French Foreign Office, elicited an indignant and scathing reply inter-

preting the action of the United States as unfriendly.

The settlement of the Tacna-Arica dispute, announced by President Hoover on May 17, 1929, may be directly attributed to his good offices. It was revealed that Mr. Hoover examined the situation on the spot during his Latin-American tour and that on May 14 he submitted proposals to Chile and Peru which were immediately accepted by both governments and used as the bases of the final settlement. On the other hand little progress has been made in the solution of the Bolivia-Paraguay boundary dispute, in which the United States has been participating as member of a neutral commission of investigation sitting in Washington.

The President has stated a number of times that he does not wish this country to be represented abroad by marines. This is now the case in Nicaragua and Haiti. In the former country, where marines are stationed at the request of the ruling faction, the situation is virtually the same as it was a year ago. Unrest in Haiti caused President Hoover early in February to appoint a commission to investigate conditions and the prospects of evacuation within the next few years.

In domestic affairs the gravest issues which Mr. Hoover inherited from the Presidential campaign were prohibition and farm relief. The new President made it plain that he considered crime and disrespect for the law the most serious problem before the nation. It was therefore from this point of view that he proposed to deal with the prohibition question, and for this purpose he appointed the Wickersham commission in May, 1929. Its preliminary report, submitted on Jan. 13, proposed certain legislative reforms to facilitate enforcement, which were laid before Congress.

While this report appeased the ardent prohibitionists, it convinced the wets all the more of the unwisdom of a law which necessitated such drastic methods of enforcement. The Presi-

dent's moderate attitude, moreover, failed to satisfy either wet or dry enthusiasts. Although he believes prohibition to be an experiment "noble in motive" and sternly insists on respect for the law, Mr. Hoover clearly prefers that it be made to succeed by education and a gradual mobilizing of public opinion than by spectacular drives and sawed-off shotgun expeditions along the border. The word prohibition has become so colored with emotion in the last ten years that only a small and reasonable minority remains to appreciate the moderate point of view.

To redeem his pledges of farm relief, Mr. Hoover called the special session of Congress on April 15, 1929. On June 15 the President put his signature to the agricultural marketing bill, providing for a Federal Farm Board and a \$500,000,000 revolving loan fund. But this victory for the administration was gained only by dint of three interventions by the President at crucial moments. On April 21 and again on June 11 he protested against the Senate's determined inclusion of the debenture plan in the bill. When a deadlock threatened to block the passage of the bill, he called a conference of Congressional leaders and devised a compromise: the Senate abandoned the debenture after the House, where the plan had never come out of committee, killed it by direct vote. This saved the administration's farm relief plan, but aroused some hostility to the President in the Senate which has continued to plague and harass the administration and frustrate its plans ever since.

The tariff has been another chief source of difficulty between the Senate and the President. Mr. Hoover indicated plainly that he considered only limited revision to be necessary. In this case it was the House which proceeded to pass a completely revised and considerably increased tariff. The Senate Finance Committee wrote a bill with somewhat lower rates, which the Democratic-Insurgent coalition of the Senate demolished bit by bit in order to bring rates approximately back to the present

level of the Fordney-McCumber bill, except for slight adjustments both up and down. What accomplished this cycle was partly the passage of almost a year during which there was a visible change in public sentiment due perhaps to the Caraway Committee's exposé of lobbying, perhaps to the realization that Mr. Hoover would not hesitate to veto a bill which he considered unwise. Nevertheless the Senate remained obstinately opposed to the President on two points, namely the debenture which again lifted its battered head and was attached to the tariff bill on Oct. 19 and the flexible provision which elicited another message of disapproval from the President on Oct. 31. It was, however, confidently predicted that both these provisions would be abandoned in conference. For while relations between Congress and Mr. Hoover have been far from idyllic, it has happened almost invariably that the President gets the sort of bill he wants in the end. It is significant that Mr. Hoover has not had to veto a single bill, while President Coolidge vetoed such important measures as the McNary Farm bill and the Muscle Shoals bill.

On the troublesome question of patronage, Mr. Hoover has taken from the first a definite stand. He announced immediately that few changes would be made in the Washington personnel. That he was not primarily a party man was well known and it was feared that he would not always heed the advice of the local Republican machines. These fears were well founded. Mr. Hoover had a habit of finding out for himself whether he approved of the suggested candidate. On one occasion it was necessary for him to rebuke the Florida organization and remind the leaders that their capacity was merely advisory. In nominating Federal judges he published the names of individuals and organizations who had recommended them.

A second distinctive Hoover policy, no doubt evolved during his war experience, has been the attempt to persuade business and professional men

of the highest rank to sacrifice larger incomes in order to enter the government service. The idea of personal sacrifice to serve the government in time of peace has made headway during the past year. It is noteworthy that the Cabinet appointed by Mr. Hoover last March contained only two men whose careers had been politics—Postmaster General Brown and Secretary of War Good.

During his first year the President has had to appoint new Ambassadors and Ministers to practically every nation with which we have diplomatic relations. Of all these many appointments only two have evoked the slightest criticism on the ground that they were politically expedient.

Borne into office on the wave of a campaign "prosperity" slogan, President Hoover had the misfortune to encounter before a year elapsed a financial panic and a threat of general business depression. It is remarkable that the administration weathered without serious loss of prestige catastrophes such as in the past have, however illogically, been blamed on the reigning party. Mr. Hoover immediately called economic conferences at which leaders in all industries promised expansion and new construction to stimulate business. But a situation which had been in the making for several years could not be cured overnight, and unemployment figures continued to be high throughout the Winter.

President Hoover has had a year filled with the gravest worries that can beset a peace-time President. He has found out just what it means to run the executive end of this country, and he has evolved for himself a Presidential philosophy which reveals a fundamental serenity in the midst of harassing situations. The basis of his creed, which Mr. Hoover explained in a letter to Dr. W. O. Thompson, President Emeritus of Ohio State University, is the belief that the people will follow the truth if it is revealed to them. Replying to Dr. Thompson, who had sent the President a word of encouragement and had begged him not

to be disheartened by popular lies and political enemies, Mr. Hoover said:

Possibly, if I had either the time or the inclination to worry over the evils which lurk around the White House, it might decrease my faith in human goodness, but fortunately the insistent need for determination of definite action in public matters inhibits such contemplations.

The human flood which flows through the White House shows all the dark colorings and the flotsam that you mention. But it is brightened more than you think by many who, regardless of party, genuinely wish to help the President to succeed in his task. The sons of evil have at least collateral descendants in every generation.

Of course it is true that malice is sometimes the politicians' key to newspaper headlines and there will always be partisans desirous that the President should fail, even if their stratagems injure the country, or whose daily toil is to mix mud pies.

But if these blots were other than exceptions, this nation would not have swept to a mightier and mightier destiny every year since the Independence.

You well know of the wearing of hair shirts in the Middle Ages by way of reminder of sin and trouble. Somewhere lately I said that every man has a few mental hair shirts and that Presidents differ only by their larger wardrobe—for certain individuals, newspapers, associations and institutions officiate as haberdashers in this regard, with a high generosity which guarantees both humility and urbanity.

As against all this, the President has, for a few short years, the opportunity to speed the orderly march of a glorious people. And the inspiration of that moving host is compensation that comes in larger measure to him than to any other man.

You aptly penetrate the vital question of public action—the discovery and promulgation of truth. No real believer in democracy questions the sureness of public judgment—if the public is given the truth—but there is a time element in the triumph of truth.

When we look back over history we see the periods of either moral, social, economic or political stagnation while the truth was en route and some variety of demagoguery occupied the scene. We can and must, however, greatly increase the production of truth and we must know the truth before the grave interest of 120,000,000 people is involved in government policies.

We can sometimes speed up production before the demagogue awakes to his opportunities. Facts are bad for his digestion and the truth makes misrepresenta-

tion uncomfortable. And the truth, as you say, is hard to discover; it must be distilled through the common judgment of skilled men and women from accurately and patiently collected facts and knowledge of forces before the extraction of the essence of wisdom.

The materials themselves are also hard to come by; it takes time and patience, especially as our many inventions have forever banished the simple life.

In the meantime, a vast clamor of half-truths and untruths and injured facts will always fill the air and intoxicate people's emotions. The President himself cannot pretend to know or to have the time for rigid investigation. But the fine minds of our citizens are available and can be utilized for the search.

So you will know why, when you hear of more and more temporary committees, commissions, conferences, researches—that they are not for executive action (for which they are anathema), but are one of the sound processes for the search, production and distribution of truth. And they are more.

They spread cooperation with government among our best citizens, not only in finding truth, but also they aid to spread it and to get action upon it. Our great American experiment has demonstrated that the people will, of their own initiative, take care of progress if the government can remove abuse and help put the signs on the road, stimulation to all of which is part of the job of Presidents.

Of Lincoln's great formula, the most important one-third is "government by the people" and they will govern themselves outside the government when they see the light. It is from too much emphasis on "government of the people" that we get the fundamental confusion that government, since it can correct much abuse, can also create righteousness.

PROHIBITION

Prohibition's tenth birthday on Jan. 16 was marked by excitement and agitation hardly good for a child of such tender age and disordered health. In a Congress which, according to one expert estimate, is 76 per cent dry in the lower house and 79 per cent dry in the upper, speeches arguing repeal, amendment and the unconstitutionality of the Eighteenth Amendment held the centre of the stage. In the House the Williamson bill, embodying the Wickersham report's recommendation for concentration of enforcement in the De-

partment of Justice, was passed on Feb. 8. Secretary Mellon appeared before the House committee to approve the plan. The Treasury-Postoffice bill carrying prohibition appropriations was passed on Jan. 18, a complete victory for the dries. It allotted \$15,000,000 for the enforcement unit and \$50,000 for government dry "education." On Jan. 21 two more suggestions of the Wickersham report were introduced in the House as bills. They provided increased powers for United States Commissioners which would enable them to conduct hearings without juries in cases of minor prohibition offenses. It was announced that on Feb. 12 the House Judiciary Committee would begin hearings, for the first time since prohibition, on seven measures for repeal and modification and for a national referendum.

Attorney General Mitchell raised a storm of controversy on Jan. 27 when he made public a letter stating that henceforth the personal opinions and habits of United States Attorneys and Marshals would be considered in their selection. "I believe," said Mr. Mitchell, "that no man who makes a practice of drinking intoxicating liquor, or who has definite or pronounced views in opposition to prohibition, belongs, during this administration, in any post having directly to do with prosecution of cases under the national prohibition act."

THE TARIFF

The Senate got over its greatest tariff difficulty during the past month by the process of hurdling it. In other words, it solved the problem of the sugar duty by voting to keep the existing schedule—2.20 cents a pound on foreign and 1.76 cents a pound on Cuban sugar. This was a decisive defeat for the Republican regulars, who favored the Finance Committee rates of 2.75 and 2.20 cents a pound, and a direct challenge to the rates of 3 and 2.40 cents passed by the House. The vote was 48 to 38, the majority consisting of 18 Republicans, 29 Democrats and 1 Farmer-Labor. An attempt

to protect domestic growers from Cuban and Philippine competition by a bounty was defeated by a vote of 54 to 22 on Jan. 17. In this roll-call 30 regular Republicans joined 24 Democrats to rout the Insurgent bloc.

Hides and shoes were put on the free list after the West had failed to secure a duty on hides and the East on shoes. On Jan. 24 the Senate passed the Borah amendment to this effect by a vote of 46 to 28. Efforts to impose a duty on building cement were also defeated by a vote of 40 to 35 on Jan. 31.

The American valuation plan of fixing ad valorem duties was the subject of discussion in regard to chemical rates on Feb. 4. Senator La Follette charged that this method of valuation gave higher protection and would give the chemical industry benefits denied to other industries. Nevertheless, by a vote of 57 to 23, it was determined to continue the American plan on coal tar products. An amendment to the tariff bill abolished the custom of freedom of the port for government officials, the abuses of which have recently become more and more flagrant.

There has been a revival of interest in the question of Philippine independence during the past month, due partly to the demands of domestic sugar growers and partly to renewed activity by the Filipinos. Beet and cane growers have protested the competition of Philippine sugar, which can come in duty free as long as the Philippines are administered by our government. Philippine leaders see in this discussion an opportune moment to restate their case in Washington. Thirdly, the King bill, granting immediate independence, is under consideration by the Senate Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs. A native delegation appeared before this committee on Jan. 15 to plead for freedom to develop their own nationality even if it meant the renunciation of certain material blessings. Manuel Roxas, Speaker of the Philippine lower house, asserted that his people have demonstrated their ability to govern themselves, and

discounted any fear of a Japanese menace.

On Jan. 31 a modified plan for progressive autonomy was presented by Senator Vandenberg. It was designed to create immediately a "Commonwealth of the Philippines" and grant independence by stages to be completed in ten years. This bill was also referred to the Senate committee for hearings.

Most of the supply bills were disposed of by the House during the month just past: the Treasury-Post-office bill on Jan. 18, the War Department bill on Jan. 14, and the State, Labor, Justice and Commerce Departments bill on Jan. 29. Five prison reform bills embodying the administration's program were passed on Jan. 22.

THE CHIEF JUSTICE

William Howard Taft, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court since 1921, was forced by ill health to announce his retirement on Feb. 3. Mr. Taft, who

was President from 1908 to 1912, is the only statesman ever to have held both the highest executive and the highest judicial offices. Charles Evans Hughes was appointed to succeed him, a choice which was widely approved in view of his eminent fitness for this position. Mr. Hughes was Associate Justice of the Supreme Court from 1910 to 1916, when he resigned to run for President against Woodrow Wilson. To become Chief Justice he had to resign his membership in the World Court, to which he was elected last July.

Unexpected opposition to the Hughes appointment developed in the Senate on Feb. 10 and delayed ratification. Senators Norris, Borah and Glass opposed Mr. Hughes because he had been employed as counsel by large corporations and had left the Supreme Court to enter the political arena in 1916.

D. E. W.

MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

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THE INAUGURATION of Pascual Ortiz Rubio as President of Mexico, to fill a four-year term, took place on Feb. 5. At noon of that day Ortiz Rubio read his oath of office, and, after receiving the congratulations of the outgoing officers, made a speech outlining the general direction of his policy, the chief points of which were:

My government will be by origin, by tendency, by conviction and by its identification with the soul of the country eminently revolutionary.

Mexico's social development is an accomplished fact, and our future depends on productive work, which must be supported by dignified comportment. With its geographical position, between two oceans and neighbor to one of the world's great nations, with its high concepts of justice, and with the infinite resources of its soil—which should be protected to

benefit its nationals—Mexico should organize itself into a modern State.

The executive power which I am taking over will wipe out all traces of separation between society and the State. The creation and development of new sources of work and production will be one of the main objects of my administration. In the realm of health and culture my government will use all its power to assure the internal growth of our people by attacking the causes of our infant mortality, which at present reaches almost 50 per cent of births, by developing hygiene in our towns and among our workers, especially in the industrial centres.

It is opportune to declare emphatically as one of the central postulates of my administration that public functionaries shall not only have technical ability but their private and public conduct must be above suspicion.

With all intensity my government, within its national resources, will con-



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tinue the great labor of education, the instruction of workmen and field laborers, for we have absolute faith in the future of our race.

Our country is at present on terms of cordial relations with all other countries of the world and particularly with the United States. All we need now is to show that the Mexican revolutionary public has an appreciation of its historic rôle, realizes its responsibilities, and that its government will struggle from this moment to culminate its revolutionary victory.

After the inaugural exercises the President returned to the National Palace to swear in his Cabinet, the list of whose members is as follows:

EMILIO PORTES GIL—Interior.
 GENARO ESTRADA—Foreign Affairs.
 JOAQUIN AMARO—War.
 LUIS MONTES DE OCA—Treasury.
 MANUEL PEREZ TREVINO—Agriculture.
 LUIS LEON—Industry, Commerce and Labor.
 AARON SAENZ—Education.
 JUAN ANDREU ALMAZAN—Communications and Public Works.

About two hours after his inauguration as President and immediately after the installation of his Cabinet, as he was returning to his home, President

Ortiz Rubio was attacked by a would-be assassin. Several others were arrested with him as part of the conspiracy, but as this is written none of the findings of the investigators as to the motives for the attempt has been revealed.

An official financial statement issued on Jan. 16 showed that the Mexican Government began the new calendar year with a surplus of approximately 19,000,000 pesos (\$9,500,000), whereas at the beginning of 1929 it had only 360,000 pesos surplus. A saving of more than 18,000,000 pesos was made by Finance Minister de Oca. It was unofficially announced on Jan. 16 that this surplus would be applied to the service on the foreign debt.

Despite this cash surplus, Mexico faces the new year with a serious silver crisis, due to the recent drop in the value of bar silver. During 1929 the value of silver production was 105,000,000 troy ounces, an amount far in excess of the production of any other country in the world.

During 1929 Mexico's agricultural production also declined alarmingly, as

much as 30 per cent on such staple products as beans and corn. As a result of this, petitions were presented to the National Chamber of Commerce in January urging that body to petition the government to issue a decree authorizing the free importation into Mexico of foreign corn. The petition further urged it to endeavor to secure the cooperation of the railroads by placing in operation the lowest possible transportation rates for foodstuffs from the border and sea coast.

The right of the Mexican Government to demand that foreign insurance companies invest in Mexican bonds one-half of their reserves on deposit in Mexico, was questioned in January by William P. Massie, manager in Mexico City of the Sun Life Insurance Company of Canada. In reply, Secretary of Industry, Commerce and Labor de Negri on Jan. 19 asserted that money paid into foreign insurance companies by Mexican policyholders belonged in Mexico and should be invested there. Because of the failure of the Sun and several other foreign companies to comply with the investment order, permission for them to sell policies in Mexico was withdrawn by de Negri. An injunction against this decree was granted by a district court on Jan. 23, and the company was permitted to resume its sales under a bond of \$10,000. The same day (Jan. 23) the expulsion from Mexico of William P. Massie, manager of the Sun Life Insurance Company, was decreed by President Portes Gil.

The withdrawal from Moscow of the entire Mexican Legation was ordered by the Mexican Government in mid-January "as an act of protest" against recent Communist demonstrations before the Mexican Embassies in Washington, Buenos Aires, Argentina and Rio de Janeiro. In a long statement announcing this action on Jan. 23, Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs Estrada declared that lack of appreciation on the part of Russia of Mexico's efforts to maintain friendly relations with that country had produced a situation that it was "neither possible nor de-

corus to continue tolerating." The break was completed when Moscow, on Jan. 31, ordered the withdrawal of the Soviet Minister to Mexico.

The decision of the Mexican Government to reopen the Mexican Consulate at Laredo, Texas (see February CURRENT HISTORY), was officially announced in Mexico City on Jan. 14, and the formal reopening took place on Jan. 17.

The rights of "pernicious foreigners" to appeal from a presidential order of deportation which is authorized by Article XXXIII of the Constitution was upheld in a decision handed down by the Mexican Supreme Court on Jan. 10. Heretofore foreigners held to be "pernicious" were summarily deported from the country without legal recourse. The same day President Portes Gil issued an order for the deportation of five foreigners charged with illegal practice.

A unique experiment in the official governmental support of a party organization was started in Mexico by a decree issued by President Portes Gil on Jan. 26 providing that thereafter all government employes labor without pay on the thirty-first day of each of the seven months having thirty-one days. The wages which would normally go to these employes will be collected by the National Treasury and deposited to the credit of the executive committee of the National Revolutionary Party. The executive decree provides that the funds thus created shall be used for political campaigns, social and charitable work and insurance against the illness and death of members of the party.

HONDURAS—A joint boundary conference, composed of delegates from Honduras and Guatemala, who have been studying the boundary dispute between the two countries in which is involved a banana-growing region on the Atlantic coast of Central America, was temporarily disrupted in January as the result of military movements on the Guatemalan frontier. A statement is-

sued by President Colindres of Honduras on Jan. 22 asserted that Guatemalan troops had occupied Lancetillal, "indisputably in the jurisdiction of Honduras" and had compelled the evacuation therefrom of "four soldiers and a telegraph operator." As a result, orders were issued for the mobilization of Honduran forces and the dislodgement of the Guatemalans, and, pending the restoration of the *status quo ante*, for the withdrawal of the Honduran delegates from the joint boundary conference. Guatemalan forces evacuated the territory in question, which was at once reoccupied by Honduran forces and on Jan. 20 the joint boundary conferences were resumed.

The above official allegations of the Honduran Government were denied by the Guatemalan Foreign Ministry on Jan. 23. In an announcement made that day the following statement was made: "Guatemala strictly adheres to her promise not to take any military action unless forced to in defense of the integrity of her national territory and national dignity."

It was announced on Jan. 22 that the Honduran Government was negotiating a settlement of the boundary dispute with Nicaragua. Tentative plans called for the creation of a boundary commission composed of one Nicaraguan, one Honduran, and an appointee of the United States Department of State.

HAITI—As the result of Senatorial criticism during January of our policy in Haiti President Hoover announced on Feb. 4, in line with a previ-

ous proposal, that he would at once appoint a commission to study the problem of how and when to withdraw the American military forces from Haiti. He further stated that, although he did not advocate immediate withdrawal of the marines, the United States would have to remove its troops by 1936. The same day the House of Representatives approved a resolution recently passed by the Senate appropriating \$50,000 for a study of Haitian conditions.

The personnel of the commission, announced on Feb. 8, was as follows:

W. CAMERON FORBES, Former Governor General of the Philippines, Chairman.

HENRY P. FLETCHER, Former Ambassador to Mexico, Chile, Italy and Belgium.

ELIE VEZINA, Student of Haitian Affairs.

JAMES KERNEY, Journalist.

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE, Publisher.

COSTA RICA—Hon. Roy T. Davis, United States Minister to Costa Rica for the past eight years, was paid high tribute by prominent citizens of that country and by the Costa Rican press early in January. The occasion was his departure for Panama where he succeeds John South as United States Minister.

PANAMA—The "systematic advances and peaceful penetration" by minor propaganda work among the Panaman peasantry in the disputed Coto region were made the subjects of a formal diplomatic protest sent by the Panaman Government to that of Costa Rica on Jan. 11.

SOUTH AMERICA

By HENRY GRATTAN DOYLE

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THE BORDER dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay continues to hold first place in South American news of the month. On Jan. 20 reports of renewed clashes between military forces of the two countries in the Gran Chaco were received. A communiqué issued by the Paraguayan Ministry of War, dated Jan. 19, stated that it had received reports that "on last Thursday a Bolivian military patrol made a surprise attack on the Paraguayan fort Isla Poi [an island on the Paraguay River about 250 miles northwest of Asunción, the capital of Paraguay], otherwise known as Fort Cacique Ramón," and that one soldier on each side had been killed. It was likewise reported from Paraguayan sources that the Bolivians had been routed and had retreated to Fort Boquerón.

The outbreak occurred while conversations were in progress in Asunción between a commission from the Uruguayan Foreign Office and the Paraguayan authorities in an endeavor to reach an agreement for the exchange of the two forts, Vanguardia and Boquerón, and for the renewal of diplomatic relations in accordance with the terms of the protocol negotiated at Washington. The Bolivian Foreign Office on Jan. 14 pointed out that the Uruguayan proposal—that Paraguay reconstruct and deliver Fortín Vanguardia to the Bolivians before Bolivia evacuated Fortín Boquerón—had been accepted by Bolivia but not by Paraguay. Official Paraguayan circles were reported from Asunción as regarding acceptance of the Uruguayan proposal as a "sacrifice of national honor."

After the initial report of an outbreak, statements followed each other in rapid succession from the two capitals. La Paz met the Paraguayan re-

port of the clash at Isla Poi with a communiqué dated Jan. 20 which declared that on Jan. 16 some sixty Paraguayan soldiers armed with machine guns attacked a Bolivian observation post near Fort Boquerón, held by fifteen Bolivian cavalymen, and that the attack was repulsed with the loss of one man. On Jan. 21 the Paraguayan Chargé in Washington declared that the Paraguayans had intercepted orders from General Hans Kundt of the Bolivian army calling for a general attack on the Paraguayan frontier. He also declared that the Bolivian border was filled with mobilized units of the Bolivian army and that an advance of airplanes into the Chaco had been ordered. This report was promptly denounced as a "pure invention" by the Bolivian Minister in Washington, while the secretary of President Siles in La Paz denied that troops had been mobilized as charged. On Jan. 22 the Paraguayan Chargé issued another statement, announcing the interception of another alleged radio message from General Kundt, ordering preparations for "a general offensive with the centre of gravity in the northern sector." Further charges and denials followed.

In the meantime both governments had taken steps to put their cases before the five neutral powers represented on the Washington Conciliation Commission. The League of Nations had also taken a hand in the situation, following an "information" filed by the Paraguayan Minister in Paris with Sir Eric Drummond, the Secretary General of the League, at Geneva. On Jan. 23 the Acting President of the Council of the League, August Zaleski, Foreign Minister of Poland, sent identical messages to the disputants, urging them to rely upon peaceful procedures for the settlement of their difficulties and re-

minding them of their obligations under the covenant. On the same day the Bolivian delegate to the League made formal protest against holding Bolivia responsible for the latest incident in the Chaco, provoked, he said "by a Paraguayan patrol which attacked a Bolivian observation post."

On Jan. 26 a Bolivian message to the League in reply to M. Zaleski's appeal to both nations declared that Bolivia had never provoked Paraguay by its attitude and referred to Bolivian acceptance of the Uruguayan proposal for the exchange of the forts as evidence of Bolivia's desire to settle the frontier incidents in 1928 in accordance with the protocol signed in Washington. This was Bolivia's attitude, the message added, until the "regrettable incidents" of Jan. 16. In the presence of the new situation, the message concludes, "Bolivia is bound to take military measures to safeguard her sovereignty."

Efforts by the League to compose the situation were hampered by the fact that a number of members of the Council were participating in the naval conference in London. A message from M. Zaleski on Jan. 31 thanked the two countries for declarations of adherence to a peaceful program received from both and expressed the hope that the disputants might "find the means of settling all questions connected with the Chaco." Whether this hope—which all civilized nations must echo—is likely to be fulfilled is a question as difficult as the determination of the whole truth with regard to the entire Chaco problem.

ARGENTINA—In an article in *La Nación* on Jan. 23 Dr. Alejandro Bunge, former Director of Statistics of the Argentine Government, stated that several factors point to an early opening of the Caja de Conversión, or Gold Conversion Office, which was closed several weeks ago by the President. He enumerated a bumper crop of corn, which would increase the exports of Argentina, and the increase in currency circulation in the Argentine because of

earmarked deposits of gold in Argentine legations abroad. If the deposits are large enough, the government may withdraw its own reserve gold from the Gold Conversion Office and release and sell exchange against the proceeds of the £5,000,000 loan recently arranged in London.

The New York, Rio and Buenos Aires Air Line announced that by March 1 it would have in operation thirty-five planes, maintaining passenger, mail and express service, operating over a 9,000-mile route and representing an expenditure of \$2,315,000.

BOLIVIA—By government decree issued on Feb. 2, 75 per cent of all employes of foreign corporations operating in Bolivia must be Bolivians.

BRAZIL—The coffee situation is still precarious, largely because of overproduction. In addition to the huge stock already in storage, the 1928-29 crop produced more than 28,000,000 bags. (A generous estimate of the world's annual consumption is 22,000,-



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000 bags.) Other countries in South America, which produce among them some 9,000,000 bags, are not so badly affected perhaps as Brazil, but nearly all have suffered from unemployment, reduction of public works and curtailment of credit.

On Feb. 7 Mello Vianna, Vice President of Brazil, was seriously wounded by a would-be assassin who fired several shots at him during a political address he was making at Montes Claros, in the State of Minas Geraes. He was struck by two bullets, one lodging in his neck and one in his shoulder. Several persons were killed in the rioting which followed the attempted assassination.

CHILE—The law making primary education compulsory became effective in December. Children must now attend school between the ages of 7 and 15, or 16 years if their education has been in the "supplementary" schools. Children under 16 years of age cannot be employed unless their school requirements have been met. On Feb. 23 the Minister of Education issued a decree regulating foreign scholarships. Ten secondary school teachers, selected on a competitive basis, have left for Europe to study new educational projects in various countries.

COLOMBIA—The Presidential election, held on Feb. 9, resulted, according to the preliminary returns, in the election of Enrique Olaya Herrera, Liberal candidate and Minister to the United States. With about 80 per cent of the districts heard from, the vote stood: Dr. Olaya, 307,306; General Alfredo Vásquez Cobo, Independent Conservative, 157,508; Dr. Guillermo Valencia, Conservative, 133,061. Dr. Olaya has been twice Foreign Minister and a member of both Houses of the Legislature. His policy is friendly to foreign investments in Colombia.

On Jan. 22 Archbishop Perdomo issued a circular recommending support of Valencia, but on Feb. 3 he withdrew

that circular and gave his support to General Vásquez Cobo.

Dr. Olaya seemed to be taking the country by storm in his campaign tour, largely made by airplane. At Bogotá he received on Jan. 27 what local newspapers termed the greatest public reception ever accorded to one person. The women of the country were supporting him strongly because he assured them that if elected he would work for woman suffrage. Dr. Olaya outlined on Feb. 3 the principal points of his platform as follows: An "open-door" policy for foreign investors, the development of the oil industry as a strong factor in the economic life of the country, and the selection of the most competent men in the country for administrative posts in the government.

On Jan. 23 the State Department was officially informed that Brazil and Colombia had exchanged ratifications of a treaty fixing the boundary between them, and thanks were conveyed from the Colombian Government to the United States for the part played by the latter in effecting the settlement. In the House of Representatives there was considerable opposition to the treaty by the Liberals, who maintained that Colombia was ceding to the Brazilian Government, "without any reason whatsoever, a large portion of national territory, approximately 25,600 square miles." This territory is in the headwaters of the Amazon.

After four years of difficult and discouraging work the longest bridge in Colombia is finished, and it is possible now to cross the upper Magdalena River at Girardot. The bridge was built by an English firm and is owned by the Colombia National Railway.

ECUADOR—On Jan. 21 President Hoover appointed as Minister to Ecuador Franklin Mott Gunther, a "career man" who has been in the service for nearly twenty years and who has served as Chief of the Division of Mexican Affairs in the Department of State. In accordance with the President's announced policy of appointing

only diplomats who speak the language to Spanish-American posts, Mr. Gunther has a fluent command of Spanish.

On Jan. 25 the Ecuadorean Government asked Señorita de Sárraga, who had been delivering anti-Catholic lectures in Ecuador, to leave the country. After a lecture at Quito, on Jan. 8, a troop of cavalry had to be called out to protect the lecturer from a mob.

PARAGUAY—The first section of the new port at Asunción was inaugurated in January. The new port is being constructed under a concession granted in 1925 to an American corporation, and when completed will consist of about 600 meters of modern docks along the river front, equipped with electrical machinery and connected by rail with the Paraguayan Central Railroad. Fireproof warehouses are also provided. Payment for the port is to be made out of customs receipts, and it is estimated that the cost will be met in about twelve years, when ownership will revert to the government.

PERU—On Feb. 2 an administration bill was sent to Congress which proposes a revaluation and stabilization of the Peruvian monetary system by having the gold "sol," with a value of 40 cents in American gold, made the monetary unit of the country. This would replace the Peruvian "libra," or pound, which has a par value of \$4.8665 but has been worth only \$4 since its de facto stabilization at that price in May, 1928. The embargo on the exportation of gold would be lifted, while gold contained in other metals would be subject to an export tax.

President Hoover on Jan. 28 named Fred W. Dearing, American Minister to Portugal, as Ambassador to Peru. Ambassador Dearing is a "career" member of the American diplomatic corps who has had much experience in Latin-America and who speaks Spanish fluently.

On Jan. 28 Dr. Hernán Velarde, the Peruvian Ambassador, and Señor J. Alvarez Buenavista, First Secretary of the Peruvian Embassy, spoke on the

radio in a series of international goodwill broadcasts. Dr. Velarde spoke briefly in Spanish, and Señor Buenavista gave the principal address in English, explaining the form of government of Peru and eulogizing the personality of President Leguía.

The so-called "Lee concession," which was canceled by the Peruvian Government some months ago on the ground that Bertram T. Lee, the American holder of the concession, had failed to meet the terms of his contract, is still the subject of negotiations at Lima. Following the cancellation Mr. Lee protested through the State Department, retaining Miles Poindexter, former Ambassador to Peru, as his counsel. The Peruvian Government agreed in November to arbitrate the matter, but on Jan. 21 Congress passed legislation authorizing the President to contract with other interests—understood to be represented by W. R. Davis, another American formerly associated with Mr. Lee—because of Mr. Lee's alleged failure to name his arbitrators. On Feb. 3, however, it was announced that the names of Mr. Lee's two arbitrators had been received, and the chairman of the Senate Committee on Legislation and the dean (senior member) of the Bar Association of Lima were announced as the government's arbitrators. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Peru will probably be the fifth member.

The concession in question is an important one, probably the largest in scope and extent in South America. It involves the construction of a 550-mile railway from the Pacific Coast over the mountains to the river port of Yurimaguas on the Amazon. The railway will open up the entire northern section of Peru, rich in minerals and petroleum and capable of development as a great foodstuffs-producing region. The concession includes large grants of land, with important mineral, petroleum and colonization rights.

URUGUAY—Soviet Russia is buying Hereford bulls from Uruguay for breeding purposes. Russia has

already bought 250 of these animals at a price of about \$180 each, and may buy 100,000 more. These animals are the descendants of bulls brought to Uruguay from the United States prairies.

The President of Uruguay and the entire executive department of the country have sent to Parliament a recommendation that women be given the right to vote. Inasmuch as this project

has had practically universal approval, it is probable that a bill granting suffrage to women will be passed in the next session of the Chambers.

VENEZUELA—General Juan Vicente Gómez, former President of Venezuela, is reported to be seriously ill. General Gómez is 70 years old and served as President from 1910 until 1929.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

By *RALSTON HAYDEN*

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CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

THE REORGANIZATION and re-equipment of British industry with funds lent by the great financial interests that centre in "the City" (the financial district of London) is to be a part of Great Britain's answer to the problems of decreasing trade and increasing unemployment that have seemed to threaten disaster to the nation. This announcement was made on Jan. 10 by J. H. Thomas, Lord Privy Seal and Minister of Employment. At the same time he declared that the government intended to increase the number of British commercial attachés abroad, to strengthen certain existing posts and to send to various countries trade missions such as that which visited Argentina in 1929, while Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald on Jan. 26 announced the establishment of a national economic advisory council to assist the government in its plans for economic reconstruction.

During the months that he has been wrestling with the problem of unemployment Mr. Thomas, although making some provision for temporary relief by launching an extensive program of public improvements, has insisted that the problem could not be solved except by terminating the serious and long continued depression of British industry and foreign trade. Although in part

due to loss of markets on account of war and post-war readjustments of world commerce, this depression was also caused by the fact that Great Britain's machinery of production needed replacement and modernization. A year ago arrangements were made for the reorganization of the Lancashire cotton industry upon a large scale with the financial assistance of the great London banks. The government is now seeking to secure the enactment of a law compelling the modernization of coal production and distribution. For aid in the re-equipment of other industries the Labor Government has turned to the Bank of England and five other powerful financial institutions. In announcing that the whole forces of British finance were now ready to stand behind British industry, Mr. Thomas declared:

As a result of consultations I have had, I am now in a position to state the City is deeply interested in placing industry upon a broad, sound basis and ready to support any plans that, in its opinion, may lead to that end.

Those in the City who have been studying this matter are convinced that a number of our important industries must be fundamentally reorganized and modernized in order to be able to produce at prices which will enable them to compete with the world. An industry which proposes schemes that, in the opinion of those advising the City, conform to this

requirement will receive the most sympathetic consideration and cooperation of the City in working out their plans and finding the necessary finance.

The same pledge holds good in the case of individual undertakings, Mr. Thomas added, providing the scheme fits in as a part of the reorganization of their industry as a whole.

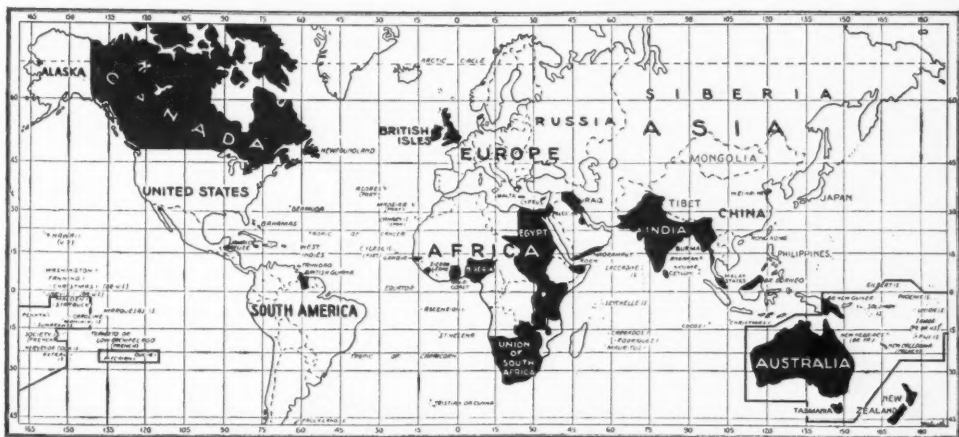
Concerning the policy of strengthening British commercial representation abroad, he declared: "Political diplomacy is good, but why not trade diplomacy as well? America sent trade commissioners to all parts of the world when we were withdrawing ours. I have decided that this must be altered." Great Britain, therefore, will send commercial attachés to Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Persia and Switzerland, create new commercial posts in Finland, and strengthen the staffs of the commercial attachés in Egypt, China, Canada, South Africa, East Africa and the West Indies.

Although hopeful that the plans which he has formulated will assist materially in reviving British trade, Mr. Thomas nevertheless warned the country that "government can do nothing comparable with industry itself." Organized collective marketing and salesmanship were required, he asserted, and in this connection announced that the steel industry had

selected one man to speak for all British steel producers in seeking orders in Canada and elsewhere. The reaction to Mr. Thomas's announcement was almost universally favorable.

The national economic advisory council, which was announced on Jan. 22 by Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald, is to be a non-partisan commission which will absorb the existing committee on civil research and be an instrument for the scientific investigation of economic facts and for the tendering of expert advice upon national economic policies. The council will consist of the Prime Minister, as chairman, and two technical experts. Its organization was planned by Mr. MacDonald, who acted in conjunction with a group of the leading industrialists and economists of the nation.

The cooperation which the Labor Government has received in its efforts to unite all of the forces of Great Britain in an effort to regain the world trade upon which the very life of the country depends may, perhaps, be regarded as evidence that the fundamental danger of the present situation has united in a common effort groups that previously have found it difficult to work together. At the very time that Mr. Thomas was announcing his plans two routine governmental reports were issued which emphasized the need for



The British Empire (shown in black). Although Egypt is an independent kingdom, its affairs are in several important respects under British control through a High Commissioner, resident in Cairo. Iraq, another kingdom, is under a British mandate

prompt and concerted action. One report showed that the number of unemployed had increased by 206,643 during the two weeks preceding Jan. 9, and had reached the total of 1,510,200 (410,075 more than when the Labor Government assumed office); the other, the annual Board of Trade statistical review, published on Jan. 11, revealed the fact that during 1929 British exports of manufactured goods had decreased by \$26,000,000.

The deep division between those Liberals who followed the late Lord Asquith and those who remained with David Lloyd George when the latter supplanted the former as Prime Minister in 1916 reappeared as an important factor in British politics on Jan. 14, when Viscount Grey of Falloden ended the truce which the leaders of the two factions made before the general election of last May. Speaking at a meeting of the Liberal Council, an organization of Lord Asquith's former followers, Lord Grey repudiated Lloyd George's leadership and attacked the use of his famous "fund" to control the Liberal party. "If when the next election comes things are as they are today with regard to leadership," Viscount Grey declared, "the Liberal Council must fight not under that leadership, but under its own organization." At the same time the speaker gave warm praise to the Labor Cabinet, although criticising it for its handling of relations with Russia. On Jan. 20 Mr. Lloyd George replied to his critic at a meeting of Liberal peers, Members of Parliament and candidates. His address was remarkable for its mildness, his chief purpose apparently being not to attack Lord Grey or defend himself, but to appeal for Liberal unity, under his own leadership. From the standpoint of national politics, the significance of the reappearance of this old Liberal schism lies in the fact that it probably weakens the Liberal hold over the Labor Government. A badly divided party probably would hesitate long before forcing Mr. MacDonald out of office and appealing to the people in a general election.

Apropos of the relations between the Liberals and Labor, the *Liberal Magazine*, in its January issue, set forth a view of the situation that is important because it suggests a possible readjustment of the whole party system of Great Britain along the lines common in Continental countries—that is, a system based upon the permanent existence of more than two political parties of importance.

The trial of Clarence C. Hatry and three associates for the issuance of fraudulent stock and other violations of the law protecting the public from financial swindlers began on Jan. 20. The transactions involved some \$4,000,000. After a *prima facie* case had been made out against them, the defendants, on Jan. 24, changed their pleas from "not guilty" to "guilty," and on the same day Hatry was sentenced to fourteen years and his associates to lesser terms of penal servitude.

IRELAND—Archbishop Paschal Robinson, the first Papal Nuncio to Ireland in more than 300 years, presented his credentials to Governor General James McNeill in Dublin on Jan. 15. In the course of his address at a State dinner to the Archbishop, President Cosgrave, referring to the relations between Ireland and the Roman Catholic Church, said:

No nation in the world has ever suffered as our nation to keep faith and remain in union with Rome. It has been and always will be our boast that we respect the beliefs of those countrymen who differ from us in religion.

If any one among the enemies of our country hoped that political freedom would loosen our ties with Rome, those hopes have been disappointed. Speaking for the great majority of the people of the State, I can solemnly declare that as we have been Irish in our love of country and Roman in our religion through centuries of war and adversity, so we will remain until the last chapter of the nation's story has been written.

AUSTRALIA—Mob violence by the miners and increasingly effective repression of disorder by the government marked the development of the struggle between the government of

New South Wales and union miners over the operation of a number of collieries in the northern coal fields which the government deemed to be necessary for the public welfare. On Jan. 10 a mob of some 3,000 organized union men attacked small groups of strike-breakers as they were approaching the Rothbury colliery, stripped and beat them, and drove them into the bush. These tactics were repeated at other places until flying squads of police in motor trucks broke up the mobs. Serious disorder was feared by the government, but on Jan. 15 R. W. Weaver, Minister of Mines, declared that the issue would be fought to a finish.

The Commonwealth Government on Jan. 14 announced its acceptance of a definite plan for the adoption of a uniform railroad gauge throughout Australia to replace the three gauges now in use on the State railways of Victoria, New South Wales and Queensland. It was estimated that the project would require six years for completion and cost \$150,000,000. The Commonwealth Government, which offers to defray one-fifth of the expense involved, will not submit its plan to the State governments.

INDIA—After the verbal storm at Lahore, where the Indian National Congress declared the independence of India in a meeting held at the end of 1929, there followed a period of comparative calm in India. On Jan. 26, following the directions of the Congress leaders, demonstrations were held in many cities throughout India. These manifestations of approval of the Congress program of passive resistance and civil disobedience, however, were in the main peaceful. Such disorders as occurred were chiefly caused by attacks upon the demonstrators, who were almost entirely Hindus, by Communists and Moslems.

In an address before the Legislative Assembly at Delhi on Jan. 25 Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, reiterated the most important declarations contained in the statements made upon his return from India: That Dominion status was the

ultimate goal of British policy in India; that the situation necessitated a "constructive attempt to face the problem of the Indian States with regard to treaties regulating their position toward the British Crown"; and that it is the intention of the British Government to convene a round-table conference after the presentation of the Simon report and before it has formulated any new policy for India. The Viceroy also warned extremists that he would discharge fully his duty to maintain law and order in India.

From the side of the Nationalist leaders came a statement on Jan. 9 by Mahatma Gandhi in his newspaper, *Young India*. In this article Mr. Gandhi revealed his desire to avoid the bloody consequences of his "passive resistance and civil disobedience" campaign of 1922, and his uncertainty as to the next step to be taken in the present situation.

CANADA—James Montagnes of Toronto writes as follows: "Canadian water power development has reached the stage where the developed electrical energy is one-sixth of the recorded water power resources. With the completion of work in 1929 Canada has a total installation of 5,727,600 horsepower, while the known available energy amounts to 33,113,200 horsepower. This development of electrical energy has taken place largely since 1914, nearly 4,000,000 horsepower having been developed since that year. The total investment in this development comes well over \$1,000,000,000, more than \$75,000,000 having been invested in 1929. Water power investment averages \$219 per horsepower.

"Public ownership of large blocks of this water power and the abundance of the supply has caused the rates payable by domestic consumers to drop considerably. In Ontario, where the Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission operates all electric power installations except such as are used solely in the pulp and paper business by large corporations as *The New York Times* plant at Spruce Falls, Northern Ontario, the

rate per kilowatt hour has dropped from 4.4 cents in 1913 to 1.9 cents for nearly 90 per cent of the domestic consumers. The commercial rates have dropped similarly in Ontario from 3.8 cents for commercial use in 1913 to 2.9 cents or less in 1928, for over 91 per cent of commercial users.

"Such reductions in price are due in Ontario to the vast figures in horsepower which the commission has available from its own developments and its contracts for Quebec water power. At Niagara Falls, Ontario develops 1,000,000 horsepower. It has smaller developments throughout the Province, while from the Gatineau Power Company in Quebec it buys 360,000 horsepower. A contract for 250,000 horsepower has been signed with the Beauharnois Power Corporation of Quebec, which is developing a 500,000 horsepower installation on the St. Lawrence River in connection with a fifteen-mile ship canal connecting Lake St. Louis and Lake St. Francis. Incidentally, this power site is capable of developing 2,000,000 horsepower.

"Quebec is the largest producer of water power, its known resources being

capable of over 8,000,000 horsepower. On the Saguenay River two developments will ultimately release 1,800,000 horsepower. The developments for the next few years in Quebec alone total close to 1,000,000 horsepower. The West is not far behind. Winnipeg is developing 250,000 horsepower near the city at the Seven Sisters Falls. Further north the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company is developing a 50,000 horsepower in the wilderness at Island Falls to supply its mine at Flin Flon, ninety miles distant. And in British Columbia the biggest project under way by a subsidiary of the British Columbia Power Corporation is a 300,000 horsepower development, which requires the diversion of the waters of the Bridge River through a tunnel built through the mountains that surround Seton Lake, the reservoir of the development. A survey of the Dominion shows that from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Great Slave Lake in the District of Mackenzie to the international boundary large and small projects are under construction to develop the known water power resources of the country."

FRANCE AND BELGIUM

By OTHON G. GUERLAC

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THE FIRST WEEKS of 1930 were occupied with world conventions, and internal politics had to give precedence to international affairs. The second conference of The Hague started on Jan. 3 and lasted until Jan. 20. The Council of the League of Nations had its meeting from the 13th to the 16th, and the Naval Conference of London opened on the 21st. M. Tardieu and M. Briand, as well as M. Chéron, Minister of Finances, and, in the last instance, M. Leygues, Minister of Marine, and M. Pietri, Minister of Colonies, were thus continuously in motion. M. Tardieu, in particular, had to make

regular flying trips, first between The Hague and Paris, and then between Paris and London.

Even while engaged in negotiations on foreign soil, in which he seemed to be as lucky as in his Parliamentary skirmishes with the Opposition, M. Tardieu managed to hold his majority together. For the Parliament, which had adjourned on Dec. 30, resumed on Jan. 14 its sittings for the so-called "ordinary session," provided by the Constitution. The Chamber of Deputies re-elected as its Speaker M. Fernand Bouisson. The vote was 336 out of 531 ballots, with no official opponent in the field. Al-

though a "unified Socialist," M. Bouisson has so asserted his authority and his technique as a presiding officer that this is the fifth time that he has been re-elected by a House which numbers only 100 members of his own party. This is one more paradox of a Chamber where some of the major positions, such as the chairmanship of the Budget Committee and that of the Foreign Affairs Committee, are held by members who vote against the Cabinet.

The question of Socialist participation in the government—which has been a controversial point in the Socialist party since the war—has again been settled in the negative by a vote of 2,066 to 1,507 at the Socialist congress held in Paris. This is likely to strengthen M. Tardieu's position, as it makes more difficult the plans of Radical and Socialist cooperation that the chairman of the Radical party, M. Daladier, as well as some Socialists like MM. Renaudel and Paul-Boncour, have not ceased to cherish. The successor of M. Daladier as leader in the House, M. Camille Chautemps, made it clear, however, in a speech delivered at Tours on Feb. 2 that the Radical-Socialists intend to remain a party of persistent opposition, although they have observed a tacit party truce since before the second Hague Conference.

The final adoption of the Young plan at The Hague, with guarantees satisfactory to the French delegates, and the first successes of M. Tardieu in London in obtaining valuable concessions have likewise strengthened his position, which would seem unassailable were it not for the very peculiar and almost unique nature of his Parliamentary support. For while his majority is in the main conservative, and even in part reactionary, his policies are more in harmony with the ideas of the Left. That has been long evident in the case of foreign policy, which even under Poincaré bore a distinct Briand stamp. It now appears to be true also of some of the domestic policies, as evidenced by the reception of the national insurance law which M. Tardieu has included in his program.

This law, which was promulgated on April 5, 1928, under the Poincaré régime, has not yet been carried out. In fact, its enforcement, beset with many difficulties, has seemed impossible until certain necessary changes have been made on which the Senate is now engaged. But the Minister of Labor, M. Loucheur, its most determined advocate, has decided that preliminary steps should be taken meanwhile, beginning on Feb. 5, with the registration of the 9,000,000 wage earners who are subject to the law. The National Insurance law, which is supported by all the parties of the Left, is bitterly attacked by the conservatives in the press and in the country, the big industrialists and the life insurance companies leading the fight. The main objections are that the law is difficult if not impossible of enforcement, dealing as it does with all wage earners who receive a wage not exceeding 15,000 francs, that it calls for a very complicated and cumbersome machinery, possibly 140,000 officials, and, finally, that it will result in an increased cost of living estimated as high as 20 per cent, since the employers will include in their prices the premiums they have to pay for their employes.

To these strictures which the so-



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called semi-official *Temps* has daily emphasized, M. Loucheur replies that the new personnel will not exceed 12,000 and that the increase in the cost of living will not be higher than 8 per cent. (The Socialists say even 3 per cent.) He sees, moreover, in the arguments of the employers of labor and their spokesmen in the press the customary resistance that every new social law has to overcome before it can triumph over the so-called "individualism" and routine of the very people who are to benefit by it.

The announcement on Jan. 17 that a bill has been introduced in Parliament raising duties on foreign (i. e., American) automobiles from 42 to 123 per cent has caused emotion even outside of the interested industries of the United States. The *Temps*, which has always been a consistent free trade organ, criticizes both the opportuneness and the value of such a move at the present time, urging rather than a conflict of tariffs a policy of collaboration with American manufacturers. On the other hand, the new American Ambassador, Mr. Edge, has been devoting a great deal of time to conversation with the government on this matter and to inquiries in order to ascertain whether there is a common basis for a Franco-American commercial treaty.

Although France's exports in 1929 were \$52,095,240 less than in the previous year and the general commercial balance was proportionately unfavorable, the figures issued by the government are more than offset by the favorable balance in invisible items, of which the tourist trade seems the most important. In fact, French industry and the domestic trade completed what seems to have been the most satisfactory year in the post-war period. The leading industries, with a few exceptions, notably textiles, have been occupied to capacity, and the policy of prosperity that the Tardieu Ministry has boldly inaugurated is greatly facilitated by the economic and financial conditions of France.

While M. Tardieu was defending in

London the French claims to an adequate navy, the Minister of the Merchant Marine, M. Louis Rollin, asked the Chamber to add 150,000 tons annually to the merchant fleet. At Bordeaux on Jan. 5, in inaugurating the new steamer *De Foucauld*, which will ply between France and French Western Africa, he had already stressed France's need of maintaining an imposing merchant marine. On Jan. 23, speaking before the Chamber, he gave some interesting figures. He showed that despite suspension of all building during the war and considerable war-time losses suffered by French shipping sufficient construction had been accomplished since 1922 to restore the French merchant fleet to pre-war size, with 3,400,000 tons. He pointed out, however, that with this fleet in 1914 France ranked in second place, while today she could claim only fifth place in world shipping. He added, however:

When we compare our progress with that of other countries, it is not entirely to our advantage. We need to increase our tonnage by 150,000 a year. The idea that the merchant marine—restricted to exact national requirements—suffices, is entirely wrong, for unless our fleet can compete with foreign fleets it must give way to them.

The French Colonial interests, the extent of France's vast empire of 5,000,000 square miles and 60,000,000 inhabitants, graphically stressed in London by the French delegates, came up also for consideration in the annual budget discussion, where an appropriation of 515,000,000 francs was asked for, which is 30,700,000 francs more than last year.

Spectacular incidents with possible political repercussions never fail to enliven the daily life of Paris. Such is the mysterious disappearance of General Alexander Kutiepov, military leader of the White Russians in France. On Jan. 26 a porter employed by a private clinic witnessed the abduction by three men, one of whom wore a Paris policeman's uniform, of this Russian General who was taken away in a taxi. Ten days of inquiry furnished no clue. Some Paris papers openly accused the Soviet

Embassy of responsibility in this case of kidnapping. Soviet Ambassador Dovgalesky denied both knowledge and participation in this movie adventure. Nevertheless, some nationalistic newspapers like *l'Echo de Paris*, *La Liberté* and even *Le Journal des Débats*, urged a break with the Soviet Government, accused of maintaining in its embassy a secret police organization enjoying diplomatic immunity. This outrage has aroused intense indignation among the White Russians of Paris and among all Russians of monarchist sympathies throughout the world.

The hold that M. Poincaré has on the French people was again evidenced on Feb. 3 by the reception he received on his return to Paris after a short stay on the Riviera. More active than ever, M. Poincaré has not ceased writing articles on present-day political problems for various periodicals. He seems now able to resume an active part in French political life, from which the condition of his health removed him in the Summer of 1929.

BELGIUM—Salary adjustments to meet the present cost of living are still being made in Belgium. Before adjourning last December the members of Parliament began with themselves, the

Deputies raising their salaries from 24,000 Belgian francs to 42,000, while the Senators will receive 28,000 instead of 8,000. One of the first decisions of the Cabinet council when it met in January was to accept the principle of general salary raises for all State officials according to a plan laid down in the report of a special commission. The *Indépendance Belge* states that a sliding scale will be adopted by which the percentage of increase will diminish with the size of the present salary, 12 per cent being the rate for the highly paid officials, while the lower grades may expect to have a raise as high as 37 per cent.

Deputy Poulet deposited his report on the "flamandization" of the university of Ghent, but there seemed to be a desire to postpone the discussion of the project until the whole linguistic problem could be further treated, if not solved.

Belgium will celebrate this year the centenary of the creation of the kingdom in 1830. On Jan 19 a gala performance made up of tableaux vivants and comprising historic scenes and costumes was given at the Théâtre La Monnaie in the presence of the King, the Queen and all the members of the court.

THE TEUTONIC COUNTRIES

By *SIDNEY B. FAY*

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THE LONDON Naval Conference, in which Germany was not invited to participate, has nevertheless been followed with great interest in the Reich and has called forth a wide variety of comment in the German newspapers. Some writers, like Admiral von Hollweg in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, resent the fact that Germany was not invited. Admiral von Hollweg is irritated that some of the papers of the foreign press speak a lit-

tle contemptuously of "Germany's baby navy" as a thing not worth taking into account. He forgets, however, that the London Conference was called essentially to continue the work of the Washington Conference of 1921 in limiting naval armaments, and that, therefore, it is only natural that the principal naval powers who took part in the Washington Conference should also be called to London, exclusive of Germany, who was not represented at Washing-



GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

ton. One of the main tasks at London, furthermore, is to secure a reduction in the number of capital ships of from 10,000 to 35,000 tons, but Germany by the Treaty of Versailles is forbidden to have any ships of this size.

Other writers, on the other hand, are rather glad that Germany has at London no representatives who might be too closely questioned about the rumored remarkable power of the German "mystery ship," the Ersatz Preussen, which is now being built; this warship conforms to the Versailles Treaty restriction on Germany in being only 10,000 tons, but she is expected to be a far more powerful and efficient ship than any of the 10,000-ton cruisers belonging to the other naval powers. These writers also see no necessity for Germany's becoming at present involved in the political-military problems which have arisen between the representatives of the other major powers at London. They wish the conference success, because any reduction in naval armaments in general is a step toward carrying out Article VIII of the League of Nations Covenant, a provision which has hitherto remained practically a dead letter. Any reduction of the British, French and American navies would be welcomed as reducing the present great gap between their naval strength and that of Germany.

Meanwhile Germany, as a virtually unarmed spectator, may well continue to observe the doings at London from a distance.

Nearly all German writers, however, agree in talking with a certain amount of justifiable pride about the new German battle-cruiser, the Ersatz Preussen, just as they followed with great pride the swift course of the Bremen across the Atlantic last Summer. The Ersatz Preussen is the first of the six new 10,000-ton replacement ships permitted to Germany under the Versailles Treaty. She is only two-thirds completed, but has already attracted great interest in naval circles. She is described in the standard British naval annual, "Jane's Fighting Ships," as "quite the most remarkable warship produced since the war," and as one which has put all the Washington Treaty cruisers out of date. Edouard Herriot, ex-Premier of France, speaking in the Chamber of Deputies, referred to it as "the terror of the world's navies."

The Ersatz Preussen may be described as a battle-cruiser, since she will carry heavier guns than any cruiser, and will have a higher speed than any battleship. She will carry six 11-inch guns, and could thus blow to pieces any Washington Treaty cruiser of the same tonnage, but with guns of 10-inch calibre or less, before the latter could come within range of her. She will have a speed of twenty-six knots, and could thus run away from any of the big battleships of the great powers which carry much larger guns than 11-inch calibre, but are some three knots slower in speed. Besides the big guns, she will have eight 6-inch guns and four 3½-inch firing pieces, together with six torpedo tubes so mounted that they can be used in heavy weather. Her cruising radius at a fairly high speed is also extraordinary—10,000 miles at twenty knots—as compared, for instance, with the United States ship Pensacola which can do only 13,000 miles at fifteen knots. She has naturally caused some alarm among

naval circles of the other powers, and the question has been raised whether she will lead to quite new designs in future naval construction.

In all this discussion, however, people overlooked the pacific gesture, caused no doubt by financial straits, which Germany made on the eve of the assembling of the London Naval Conference. In the new policy of economy compelled by Dr. Schacht's attitude, the Reichstag's Finance Commission cut the appropriation requested by the Navy Department for further work on the Ersatz Preussen from 11,000,000 to 2,000,000 marks, thus necessarily slowing up her construction. It rejected altogether the requested first appropriation for the Ersatz Lothringen, and granted only 7,000,000 marks for the Ersatz Leipzig.

In the other recent important international assemblage—the second Hague Conference—the purpose of which was to complete arrangements for putting into effect the Young plan, Germany, of course, participated, and secured fairly satisfactory results after hesitations and delays. When the conference met, much regret was expressed in Germany that Dr. Schacht was not a member of the delegation, as he is recognized as Germany's ablest financier and had been a member of the commission which drew up the Young plan. He had refused to go to the second Hague Conference in January because the German delegation at the first Hague Conference last August had consented to modifications in the Young plan slightly increasing Germany's obligations. But at the second conference Dr. Moldenhauer and his associates soon found that they needed Dr. Schacht's wisdom and advice. They telegraphed to him to come. He came and created consternation by saying that the Reichsbank, of which he is president, would not cooperate in the Young plan arrangements unless it were restored to its original form. The German Government, unwilling to risk the breaking up of the conference and the jeopardizing of the Young plan, "called his bluff"; it de-

clared that other German banks could offer adequate cooperation if the Reichsbank would not. Thereupon Dr. Schacht yielded.

This incident has raised a cry among the German Socialists for a change in the Reichsbank's charter, which will give the government control over the selection of its president and make impossible in the future any such attitude of defiance as that of Dr. Schacht at The Hague in January. No action in this direction has yet been taken. But it may be noted that the Reichsbank itself voted on Feb. 4 to make a number of changes. These include an increase in its capital from 120,000,000 to 150,000,000 marks, with new shares for shareholders, and a rearrangement of the division of profits by which the government will get theoretically four times as great a proportion of the profits as hitherto. The bank rate was also reduced from 6½ to 6 per cent following an earlier reduction on Jan. 14 from 7 to 6½ per cent. These reductions are in accord with the general lowering of bank rates throughout the world since the New York stock market collapse of last Fall.

The Cabinet has introduced bills into the Reichstag for putting into effect the Young plan. When these have been passed, Germany will be able to secure more capital, which she greatly needs. She will get 500,000,000 marks from the Swedish company of Kreuger & Toll in return for granting this company a match monopoly in Germany. Germany will also probably receive a share of the proceeds of the bond issue which it is expected that the International Bank will arrange next May, as the first "mobilization" and "commercialization" of the non-postponable reparation annuities under the Young plan.

Unemployment, as was feared, has continued to increase during the mid-winter period in Germany. It has given strength to the Communist agitation. On Jan. 15 violent demonstrations were held in various industrial centres to commemorate the tenth anniversary of

the deaths of the Communist leaders, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. They were put down by the police, but at Chemnitz four Communists were killed and fifteen seriously wounded, Red riots were announced by the Communists for Feb. 1, but shared the usual fate of such events predicted in advance: they were nipped in the bud. The previous night a large number of police suddenly surrounded Koenig's Restaurant in Berlin, which is a well-known Communist resort, and seized seventy-six leaders assembled there to make arrangements for the riots announced for the next day. Even in Hamburg, where there has recently been a good deal of Communist violence, the day passed off with nothing more serious than some noisy parades of hungry unemployed and a score of arrests by the police.

The Ministry of Defense, however, has issued a statement admitting that Communist propaganda has found its way into the army and the barracks, and has been giving the Ministry not a little trouble.

AUSTRIA—Considerable excitement was caused in Austria on Jan. 9 when Mgr. Seipel, former Chancellor and one of Austria's most influential political figures, exploded a constitutional bomb in the shape of a demand for the creation of a "Vocational Chamber," or "Chamber of Corporations" (*Staenderat*), to act as an Austrian Upper House of Parliament. It would be elected or selected from corporate bodies formed from the different professions or businesses, and it would deprive the present Chamber of Deputies (*Nationalrat*) of many of its powers. Exactly what Dr. Seipel means by his proposal is not exactly clear, but by many it is regarded as a step toward a kind of clerical and Fascist Upper House not unlike Mussolini's creation in Italy.

After the restless Summer and Autumn months of 1929, with their parades, rumors of revolution and actual hand-to-hand encounters between the

adherents of the Right and the Left groups, and just at a moment when Chancellor Schober was to struggle at The Hague for the financial independence of his country in the hope of smoothing the way for a foreign loan, Austria had hoped and yearned for peace. But her most representative politician, whose ways of late have been inscrutable even to his friends, apparently thought otherwise. "I know it will be urged that I am once more causing disquietude," Dr. Seipel declared. But he went on to argue that there could be no calm in Austria until all the pending constitutional questions had been settled.

Dr. Seipel's proposal was welcomed with enthusiasm by the Heimwehr, which hoped that it would strengthen their political influence, and that it would eventually tend to check socialism and irreligion. But by the other groups it was received with skepticism, derision, or bitter opposition. Even Dr. Seipel's own party, the Christian Socialists, since it is at present recruited from all the professions, looks with none too much favor on a proposal which threatens to destroy its solidarity as well as the spirit of democratic government. Non-partisans criticize the plan on the ground that the majority of the population of a modern State cannot be pressed into the frames of corporations. The fluctuating occupations of many citizens would make them eligible for several categories. Already the barkeepers, shoemakers and florists have requested a declaration of their eligibility to constitute corporations, and there is a tragi-comic suggestion to form a corporation of the unemployed.

The number of unemployed in Austria was reported in January to have reached the alarming figure of 300,000, approximately a quarter of the total number of workers. This is 70,000 more than the preceding month and 40,000 more than at the corresponding time a year ago. The trade unions have presented a memorandum to Chancellor Schober requesting credits for foreign

trade, the acceleration of public works, strict enforcement of the eight-hour day and other remedial measures.

HOLLAND—Dutch rubber growers, in order to reach a better market position, have formed a new organiza-

tion. It will seek contact with British growers, and is sending a delegation to the East Indies to study the question of restriction in the production of rubber by European and native growers. A restriction of from 10 to 20 per cent in production is talked of.

SPAIN, PORTUGAL AND ITALY

By *ELOISE ELLERY*

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GENERAL PRIMO DE RIVERA, for more than six years Dictator of Spain, resigned his position as Premier on Jan. 28. He came into office, it will be recalled, on Sept. 13, 1923, by a coup d'état which overthrew the constitutional government. The underlying cause of this revolutionary action was the failure of the campaign in Morocco, and its immediate occasion was connected with an effort to hush up a report on responsibility for the Spanish military disasters—a report said to implicate the King. The establishment of the Dictatorship at this juncture, many people believe, saved the monarchy. In view of this situation relations between King and Premier were somewhat complicated, and have apparently varied from time to time. Still more varied have been the reports as to what their relations actually were. Especially within the last few weeks there have been rumors and counter-rumors as to the intentions of the Premier and the attitude of the King, and also as to the probable results of any decisive change. In some quarters a restitution of constitutional government was feared because it might overthrow the monarchy, in others because it might strengthen it.

On Jan. 18 the Premier declared his intention of giving up his power, declaring that the purposes of the Dictatorship had been achieved. He further called on his party, the Union Patriótica, to reorganize preparatory to elec-

tions to be held soon. On Jan. 20, the Minister of Finance was forced to resign because his program had failed to prevent the continued fall of the peseta.

The next few days were marked by much disorder. A military revolt was attempted only a few miles from the capital, the taxicab drivers of Madrid threatened to strike, and some four thousand students in the National University at Madrid started rioting. The trouble among the students was an outgrowth of disturbances when privileges were granted to the Catholic universities last March. The president of the free or non-Catholic federations, comprising about half the students in the universities, was exiled to Palma. A demand for his release was met with the dissolution of the free federations. The student strike followed.

On Jan. 26, the Premier issued a note asking the military chiefs for an expression of their confidence, declaring that if he did not receive it he would resign immediately. He made this appeal to the highest officers only, about seventeen, all of whom owe their positions and careers to him. "While I feel that the country will be quiet," he wrote, "in spite of speculators and professional politicians, the students' strike, which was over before it had begun—so poorly timed and lacking in motives was it—and the constant attempt to create unfounded financial alarm; because of all this the Dictator

wants to ascertain whether favorable reports of his acts are merely flattery. In other words, I feel it is necessary to test the good faith of the army, by whose proclamation, backed by the good-will of the public—which I believe still continues—the Dictatorship began."

The Premier is reported to have taken this step on the spur of the moment and on his own personal responsibility, without waiting to consult the King and Cabinet. Two days later, on Jan. 28, before any public answer had been received from the chiefs of the army, he resigned. General D'amaso Berenguer, head of the military household of the King and former Military Governor of Morocco, was asked at once to form a new Cabinet.

The extent of the ousted Premier's achievements is a matter of contention. According to his own accounts, they include the "pacification of Morocco, the ending of secessionism, the crushing of terrorism and the restoration of national prosperity and prestige," to which might be added the calling of a "Consultative Assembly" to draft a new Constitution. His critics, however, see his record in quite a different light. They point to his failure to purify public life, the lack of success of the Assembly in forming a Constitution, the bad financial condition, and a foreign policy which they maintain has brought to the country anything but prestige. As for the students, their unmistakable delight in Primo de Rivera's political retirement was expressed by holding a mock funeral of the former Dictator.

The significance of the new régime is variously interpreted both in Spain and abroad. Whether it means the continuance of the former Premier's policy, or the dissolution of the present Consultative Assembly and the restoration of the Constitution of 1876 with its two-chambered Parliament, remains to be seen. Some foreign papers see in the situation only a long series of troubles ending in the establishment of a republic. But for the moment, at least, the King appears to be greatly strengthened in power. At all events, the change

was accomplished with comparatively little violence, and was discussed with some freedom in the press.

The new Premier, General Berenguer, was High Commissioner in Morocco in 1921 and 1922. He resigned in July, 1922, and in the following June the Senate, of which he was a member, voted to impeach him on the ground that he was responsible for a severe defeat. He was convicted, removed from the active list and sentenced to six months' imprisonment; the sentence was commuted, however. On Jan. 30 he announced his new Cabinet, which was made up as follows:

General D'AMASO BERENGUER—Premier, Minister of War.

MANUEL ARGUELLES—Finance and Economy.

LEOPOLD MATOS—Public Works.

General ENRIQUE MARZO—Interior

Vice Admiral SALVADOR CARVIA—Navy.

DUKE OF ALBA—Education.

PEDRO SANGRO Y ROS DE ORLOANO—Labor.

JOSE ESTRADA—Justice.

JULIO WAIS—Commerce.

It is stated that the new Premier tried, but in vain, to induce Señor Francisco Cambo, a Catalan industrialist and noted financier, to accept the post of Minister of Finance, but that the latter made the condition that there be instituted immediately an inquiry into the whole financial policy of the Dictatorship. Although most of the men who did accept Cabinet posts have previously held office, no one of them, with the exception of the Duke of Alba, has a very wide reputation. Señor Arguelles served in 1921 and 1922 as Finance Minister under the Premiership of José Sanchez Guerra, the Conservative leader. Señor Matos is a well-known lawyer and counsel to the royal palace, who, for a short time, was Labor Minister under Premier Antonio Maura. Señor Sangro has been a leading official in the Labor office. General Marzo, formerly General Berenguer's Chief of Staff in Morocco, now holds the post of Captain General in the Balearic Islands. Admiral Carvia is Chief of the Naval Staff and organizer of the staff college.

The Cabinet is apparently looked

upon as a "Ministerio puente," the colloquial Spanish phrase for Cabinet-bridge; that is to say, a structure which is only temporary and not expected to withstand a flood. Its purpose, according to the Premier's declaration, is to prepare for a general election and the restoration of full civil rights to the nation.

The first task of the new Minister of Education, the Duke of Alba, was to deal with the student strike. He at once showed a conciliatory policy. His measures included the release of all student leaders who had been detained by the Dictatorship, the announcement of a pardon for Sbert, a student leader now in exile, and of the opening in the near future of the National University of Madrid. A few days later the students were back at work.

Since his resignation, former Premier de Rivera has been challenged to a duel by the Duke of Almodovar, a Minister of the Interior in the Cabinet of the Dictator's predecessor, the ground being some alleged insulting remarks made by the Dictator while in office. Knowing that he could not challenge the then Dictator formally because of the latter's position, he wrote a letter demanding an explanation. General Primo de Rivera made no answer and the Duke waited five years, only to be again ignored by de Rivera.

On Feb. 4 it was announced that on Thursday, the 6th, the name day of the late Queen Mother Maria Christina, a general amnesty to all political prisoners would be granted.

PORTUGAL—A new Cabinet was announced on Jan. 21 under the Premiership of General Domingos Oliveira. He stated that there would be no change in policy. The new government Ministers are as follows:

Commander FERNANDO BRANCO—Foreign Relations.

Colonel LOPEZ MATEUS—Interior.

Dr. ANTONIO OLIVEIRA SALAZAR—Finance; *ad interim* Colonies (unchanged).

Dr. LOPEZ FONSECA—Justice (unchanged).

Colonel NAMORADA AGUIAR—War.

Colonel LINHARES LIMA—Agriculture (unchanged).

GUSTAVO RAMOS—Education.

Dr. ANTUNES GUIMARAES—Commerce (unchanged).

Commander MAGALHAES CORREA—Marine (unchanged).

ITALY—The publication of a papal encyclical on education was an outstanding event in Italy during the last month. This lengthy and formal document was printed in the *Osservatore Romano*, the Vatican newspaper, on Jan. 11. Contrary to the usual practice, it was published in Italian instead of in Latin, and notice was given that textual translations into other languages would shortly be available at the Vatican printing house. Its fundamental thesis is that education belongs pre-eminently to the Church. Though very general in character and addressed to the episcopacy of the world, it hits at various Fascist ideas and practices. Education, the encyclical declares, is necessarily the work of the community, not of the individual. There are three agencies necessary for education. "Two are of the natural order—namely, the family and civil society. The third is supernatural in character—namely, the Church. The Church is a society into which a man is born through baptism of the divine life of grace; a society of supernatural, universal character; a perfect society, because it contains all the means necessary to its end, which is the eternal salvation of men."

The Church, therefore, the encyclical holds, takes precedence over both the family and the State. "It follows as a natural consequence," the document continues, "that the Church is independent of earthly sovereignty both in origin and the exercise of its educational mission not only with respect to its specific aim but also with respect to the means necessary to achieve it. The Church, therefore, has the independent right to judge whether any other system or method of education is helpful or harmful to Christian education. And this is so both because the Church, being a perfect society, has independent rights on all means to its end and because every system of teaching, just like any action, has certain rela-

tions with the ultimate aim of man and cannot therefore escape the rules of Divine law, of which the Church is the infallible custodian, interpreter and teacher."

The Pope then went on to condemn a laxity of discipline which takes no account of natural depravity. "Every method of education," he declared, "founded wholly or in part on a denial or forgetfulness of original sin and of grace, and therefore on the sole forces of human nature, is false." He further pointed out dangers in the undue glorification of athletics, in sex education and in co-education. [For the full text of the encyclical see page 1091 of this magazine.]

OTHER EVENTS

In Italian colonial affairs great stress is laid on the strategical and political importance of the occupation of the city of Murzuk, capital of Fezzan, the only part of Tripoli which is still held by Arabs opposed to Italian rule. This part of Tripoli, which borders on the Sahara Desert, was occupied by the Italians sixteen years ago, but after Italy entered the World War the Italian troops were withdrawn to the coast, and Fezzan thus fell into the hands of Arab chieftains.

The trial of the three anti-Fascist political prisoners, who last Summer escaped from the penal colony on the Island of Lipari together with an aged accomplice who was unable to get away with them, was carried on at Messina in an atmosphere of intense excitement. The three successful jailbreakers, Pro-

fessor Carlo Alberto Roselli, former County Deputy Emilio Lusso and Francesco Fausto Nitti, nephew of the former Premier, succeeded in getting out of Italy. Nevertheless, they were tried in absentia. The charge was "clandestine expatriation for political motives," for which they were sentenced to five years in solitary confinement and fined 25,000 lire each.

At a meeting of the Italian Superior Council of Public Works held recently, the report of Professor Paribeni for three subways in the Eternal City was accepted, in spite of the objections of archaeologists who fear that the tunneling will undermine some of the most famous monuments.

On Feb. 2 Crown Prince Humbert and his bride, the former Princess Marie José of Belgium, after a two weeks' wedding journey, triumphantly entered Turin, where they are to make their permanent home.

The Italian naval budget for 1930-31, recently made public, calls for expenditures of \$77,682,032, which is approximately \$1,826,800 more than last year's. A considerable part of the increase is for higher rates of pay for the personnel of the navy and about \$250,000 for "exigencies of military defense."

The funeral of Michele Bianchi, one of the quadrumvirs in the Fascist march on Rome in 1922, was held on Feb. 5 with impressive ceremonies. He was lauded by Premier Mussolini for having "tirelessly served for fifteen years the cause of the fatherland and Fascism always and everywhere."

EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS

By *FREDERIC A. OGG*

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PRIVATE POLITICAL armies, on the analogy of the earlier Italian Fascisti and of various organizations which of late have caused much disturbance in Austria, have begun to make their appearance in Rumania. The most important organization of the kind is the "Voinici," maintained by the National Peasant party, to which Premier Maniu and his colleagues in the Ministry belong. A sensation was caused in the middle of January by a memorandum addressed by the Liberal party to the Regency Council protesting violently against the Voinici formations on the ground that they constituted an illegal Fascist militia, and threatening, unless they were abandoned, to organize a counter force. Special exception was taken to the fact that Premier Maniu, who is also Acting Minister of War, administers the oath to the members of the Voinici and acts as its nominal chief. The government has issued a communiqué to the effect that the association under attack is only an organization of rural youth designed to curb the danger of communism and having only a political—not a military—character and purpose. The Liberal leaders were roundly rebuked for the threatening tone of their protest.

In a special commemorative session of the Rumanian Chamber, held on Jan. 21, Premier Maniu told of his country's victories at The Hague reparation conference, from which he had lately returned. The acceptance of the Young plan meant, he said, a complete triumph for the Rumanian cause. Not only will Rumania pay nothing as reparations, but she will get a credit for the first year of 2,000,000 gold marks, and later one of more than 1,000,000 gold marks. Furthermore, no obligation will exist respecting the Hungar-

ian optant landowners, the Habsburg archdukes, or the private railways. Gratitude was expressed to France for her determined support, and to Great Britain for her very favorable attitude.

According to a report sent out by the Women's Committee of the Socialist and Labor International from its Zurich headquarters, Rumanian women are taking advantage but slowly of the new law giving them the right to vote in municipal and district elections. Despite active propaganda for woman suffrage carried on by a few women's organizations in Temesvar, Czernowitz, Resita, Anina, and other places, it was found when the compilation of the new voters' lists was completed that the proportion was sixteen to one in favor of the men. It is but fair to add, however, that the suffrage qualifications for women are considerably more restricted than for men.

It was announced on Jan. 24 that one of the most extensive housing projects ever undertaken anywhere will be started in Rumania in March. Two New York engineers and architects, Messrs. David M. Oltarsch and Maurice Blumenthal, in association with a German building concern, hold a contract with the Bucharest Government signed Jan. 8 for the construction of more than 50,000 homes and official buildings in the Rumanian capital and other parts of the country. The contract, involving an expenditure of \$100,000,000, is to be carried out over a period of fifteen to twenty years.

BULGARIA—During the past month, interest was freshly stirred in the oft-suggested marriage of King Boris III and Princess Giovanna, daughter of the King and Queen of Italy. Following an audience of King Boris with Pope Pius XI on Jan. 11, it was rumored



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that the religious obstacle to the union had been removed. It was subsequently learned that this report was unfounded, but the marriage is still regarded as one of the interesting possibilities in the Central European international situation. The religious difficulty consists in the fact that the Constitution of Bulgaria requires the sovereign to belong to the Orthodox Church, while the Pope has insisted that no dispensation for the union be granted unless a written promise is given that Princess Giovanna will remain a Catholic, and that any children born will be brought up in the Catholic faith. In point of fact, Boris was born and baptized a Catholic. He later entered the Orthodox Church, however, in obedience to the above-mentioned constitutional requirement, introduced at the instance of his father, King Ferdinand.

Mr. Henry W. Shoemaker of Pennsylvania has succeeded Mr. H. F. Arthur Schoenfeld as United States Minister to Bulgaria.

GREECE—Representatives of the Russian and Bulgarian monks on Mount Athos have forwarded a complaint to the League of Nations alleging that Greece has unjustly confiscated the greater part of their ecclesiastical property on the holy mountain. The monks assert that Greece's action is inspired by a desire to drive away all monastics from the territory—often called the Monks' Republic—where they have been established for hundreds of years. The complaint will be investigated by a special League commission.

The fact has lately become known that the British Secretary of State for the Colonies has refused the request of the inhabitants of Cyprus that they be permitted to affiliate themselves with Greece, or, in lieu of this, to have some form of responsible government. A memorial from Greek members of the insular legislative council, purporting to speak for five-sixths of the people of the dependency, was presented at London in November. To the petition asking specifically for a political union with Greece, it was replied by the Secretary that the subject was definitely closed and could not profitably be discussed further.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA—With a view to obtaining the liberation of the Czech, Pecha, recently sentenced in Hungary to five years' imprisonment for spying, an effort has been made to prove Professor Voitetch Tuka a Hungarian, and thereupon offer him in exchange for Pecha. It will be recalled that Professor Tuka, a prominent Slovak leader, was sentenced a few months ago to fifteen years' imprisonment for espionage for Hungarian interests. The plan, however, failed, because examination by a legal commission showed that M. Tuka's ancestors

have lived in Slovakia since the days of Maria Theresa. A hearing for an appeal which the former Slovak leader has prepared against his sentence has been fixed for March.

POLAND—On Jan. 22, President Hoover signed the Congressional joint resolution which raises the legation at Warsaw to the rank of embassy, and forthwith nominated Alexander P. Moore of Pittsburgh to be the first Ambassador to Poland. Mr. Moore has been in the American diplomatic service since March, 1923, when President Harding appointed him Ambassador to Spain. Concurrently with the change of status of the American Legation, Poland took similar action in respect to its legation at Washington. The former Polish Minister, Tytus Filipowicz, has become the new Ambassador. By a somewhat curious, though not entirely unprecedented, arrange-

ment, M. Filipowicz will serve also as Polish Minister to Mexico.

YUGOSLAVIA—Considerable feeling was aroused in Central Europe late in January by the publication of a military handbook at Belgrade in which the statement was made, and reiterated, that Yugoslavia's "foreign enemies are Italians, Austrians, Hungarians and Bulgarians." The book was written by a Yugoslav Colonel, Vojislav Kostich, and was distributed widely among the soldiers. "Yugoslavia, having been one of the prime factors in the last war," declared the *Innsbrucker Nachrichten*, "is evidently preparing for the next one." In rebuttal of the charge that preparation and circulation of the volume was secretly ordered by the Yugoslav War Ministry, the Yugoslav Minister at Vienna denied that the book was issued by either the Yugoslav Government or any other official authority.

NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

By JOHN H. WUORINEN

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THE SWEDISH RIKSDAG of 1930 began its labors on Jan. 11 when the National Parliament was opened. King Gustaf read the Speech from the Throne, foreshadowing proposals for approving the international agreements signed by Sweden against the use of poison gas in war. The speech disclosed anxiety concerning the agricultural situation which developed during the latter part of 1929, and suggested legislative remedies. Other subjects discussed included a balanced budget, reduced income taxes and more State-owned hydroelectric power plants.

Just before the opening of the Riksdag the Lindman Ministry was faced with the problem of the law establishing an eight-hour working day. Passed a decade ago, it was only temporary in

its provisions. During recent years demands have been made that it be replaced by a permanent enactment. The Ministry for Social Affairs has suggested its continuation another two years.

On the subject of increased import duties on breadstuffs, Per Albin Hansson, leader of the Social-Democrat party, who aspires to succeed Premier Lindman by means of a coalition of the Left groups, warned the government that the industrial workers and the small farmers would not tolerate increased prices. He favored a general tariff reduction and pointed to the fact that, in comparison with pre-war rates, considerable reductions have been made in recent years and that the reductions should be continued.

The transmission of the annual budg-



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et proposals to the appropriate committee usually resolves itself into a general discussion of the Cabinet's policy, and on Jan. 17 the Social-Democrats raised the question of farm aid, stating that they were ready to cooperate in bringing relief to agriculture by reducing the tariff on industrial products—a proposition not cherished by the Conservatives. The Liberals also sided with the Opposition, which did not fail to criticize especially the military items in the budget. Thus the budget session showed an unmistakable tendency on the part of Parliament to disconcert the Lindman Ministry.

Adolf Olsson, labor leader, newspaper man, teetotaler and member of the temperance group in the Riksdag, in an address delivered in Gavle about the middle of January, declared that the Swedish liquor rationing system had failed to solve the problem of strong drink. He maintained that since 1922 the use of distilled liquors had increased in Sweden from 25,745,000 liters to 32,100,000 liters, while the demand for wines has grown even more, in that 2,368,000 liters were consumed in 1922 and 6,000,000 liters in 1929. He also

pointed out that the authorities were unable to prevent smuggling, bootlegging and excessive drinking by those who are not permitted to buy intoxicants from the government monopoly stores, and that the enforcement of the existing regulative system involves an expenditure of nearly \$1,000,000 a year. He advocated a substantial increase in the excise tax as a remedy for the present difficulties, and the expenditure of a part of the proceeds for the benefit of alcoholics. The abolition of the Bratt system and its replacement by free sale and high taxes, according to Mr. Olsson, would decrease illicit sales and the host of ills which are fostered by the present regulations. Another temperance champion, the Rev. D. Osterlund, also advocated increased excise taxes as an alternative to individual restriction.

A loan of \$150,000 was offered by the Canadian Pacific Railroad to make possible the emigration to Canada of Swedish families recently repatriated from the village of Gammalsvenskby, in Southern Russia. Of 900 of those repatriated after 150 years, the large majority will remain in Sweden; but sixty-two families have decided to emigrate, preferably to Canada, and a committee has been formed which will go to Canada to make arrangements for the transfer.

An American subway project for Stockholm has been submitted to the Swedish Government, at an estimated cost of 70,000,000 kroner.

FINLAND—The nature of the proposals which the government will submit to the next session of Parliament was disclosed on Jan. 16. Among the problems Parliament will be called upon to solve the following are prominent: the patrolling of the maritime boundary and a change in the Criminal Code so as to give Finnish courts jurisdiction in cases of smuggling which are discovered outside the territorial waters; and a revision of the conscription law which will shorten the term of service, presumably to nine months.

In view of the tenth anniversary of

the Finnish prohibition law last June, information published on Jan. 9 relative to violations during the past year is of interest. These figures include conviction by lower courts only; those within parentheses refer to 1928: Illegal manufacture, 1,020 (760); sale, 3,461 (3,172); import, 1,488 (962); transportation, 2,743 (2,258); storage, 2,951 (2,225); other violations of the law, 88 (141). The total convictions numbered 12,567, as against 10,116 in 1928. The number of convictions in Helsingfors, the capital, for "drunkenness and prohibition violations" was 22,907, while the corresponding figure for 1928 was 21,105. It should be noted that all the figures give convictions and not persons and that they give no clue to the share of the repeater in swelling the totals.

Additional Communist arrests were reported between Dec. 22, 1929, and Jan. 3, 1930. Among those arrested were several prominent members of the party, including Rosendahl, a member of Parliament. They were charged with carrying on treasonable activities. Although the Communist party was outlawed several years ago, it has succeeded in retaining its hold among the more radical elements of the country. Periodic arrests during the past six years have failed to stamp out its activities, which have been long condemned by the Social Democrats.

NORWAY—The opening of the Norwegian Storting took place on Jan. 13. In addition to the ratification of certain agreements with foreign nations, the Speech from the Throne referred to the improvement in the economic conditions of the country and the problem of unemployment. The promise of a reform reducing the cost of national defense had been foreshadowed by various statements made recently by Prime Minister Mowinkel. Furthermore, a committee will be appointed to investigate the question of revising the present law concerning labor conflicts. The government also promised a legislative change which would enable women to become candi-

dates for the higher posts in the government. Finally, the present alcohol legislation will also be considered.

On the day when the Storting began its work a bill was introduced proposing a change in the law passed last Summer which changed the name of the venerable city of Trondhjem to Nidaros. At that time the passage of the law was followed by rioting in Trondhjem; mass meetings were held in several of the larger Norwegian cities, and pledges were taken by thousands of citizens to work for "Trondhjem back to Trondhjem." The law went into effect on Jan. 1, 1930, but the proposed bill was urged on the strength of the violent reaction of the Trondhjemese to the decision of the Storting. On the day after the introduction of this bill it was reported that the prolonged labor conflict, in which the city of Trondhjem had been involved, had been solved by the acceptance, on the part of the local authorities, of the proposal submitted by the committee appointed to settle the difficulty.

During the budget debate on Jan. 16, the Minister of Finance stated that growing production, decreasing unemployment and a general improvement in the economic life of the country could be definitely ascertained. He pointed out that the public debt had been reduced by approximately 40,000,000 kroner and that the reduction in taxes amounted to some 24,000,000 kroner.

LATVIA—Speaking to the representatives of the press on Jan. 1, Foreign Minister Balodis surveyed the outlines of Latvia's position in the field of foreign relations. The foreign policy of the country, he said, was wholly devoted to the task of maintaining peace. Latvia's relations with the Soviet Union had at no time been disturbed by any developments inimical to peace and tranquillity. The visit of the King of Sweden last year, M. Balodis held, established a bridge leading to the Scandinavian States and created new opportunities for a closer rapproche-

ment. The relations with Poland were pronounced to be satisfactory.

ESTONIA—It was reported on Jan. 10 that State President Strandman had received an invitation to visit the President of Poland in February. As the first diplomatic visit of this kind from one of the three Baltic States to Poland, considerable significance was attached to the announcement. While expressions of satisfaction characterized the comments of the Estonian press, the Latvian newspapers stressed the point that Latvia should have preceded Poland as the object of Estonian solicitude, and that the visit partook of the nature of a political demonstration, while the semi-official Lithuanian newspaper *Lietuvos Aidas*, after stressing a similar point of view, warned Estonia against the treachery of Polish friendship and pointed out that Estonia and Poland could not conceivably be threatened by a common danger from Russia.

A dispute of old standing between the Scheel Bank and the Russian commercial representatives in Tallinn concerning the sale of some 3,000,000 rubles worth of precious stones was brought to a close on Feb. 9 through the efforts of the Estonian authorities. While the controversy involved only a private concern in Estonia, its effects had seriously impeded the commercial relations between the two countries.

It was announced on Jan. 7 that a committee headed by Foreign Minister Rebane would be dispatched to Moscow to negotiate with a view to placing the trade relations between Estonia and Russia on a more satisfactory basis.

Contrary to Estonian expectations, the Finnish proposal relative to the revision of the Finnish-Estonian commercial treaty, which was received in Tallinn on Jan. 17, was couched in conciliatory terms. It contained several concessions to Estonia and furnishes the Mixed Commission, appointed to deal with the problem, with a basis upon which a satisfactory solution may be built.

LITHUANIA—Communist disorders broke out on Jan. 14, as a result of a decision of the Kaunas Military Court sentencing two Communists to death. Several persons were injured, and numerous arrests were made.

It was reported on Jan. 9 that the Lithuanian Government had refused to meet the German demands for compensation for losses arising from the loss of the Memel territory. The sum involved approximates 64,000,000 German marks, and the basis upon which Lithuania's contention rests is that the country suffered serious economic and other devastation during the World War and that this fact is sufficient to justify the wiping out of the claims presented by Germany.

THE SOVIET UNION

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THE GREATEST of all hazards which confront the Communists in their attempt to revolutionize the social structure of Russia is the intractability of the human material with which they are dealing. This does not refer to the danger of civil war, for there seems to be no great likelihood of armed rebellion against the Stalin régime. Sporadic outbursts do occur in the villages; indeed the Kremlin recently informed foreign correspondents that there had been much violence throughout the country. But these outbursts are not organized on a wide scale and are easily suppressed by armed force.

The real danger to the program by which the present Dictatorship must stand or fall inheres in the sheer incapacity of the people of Russia to meet the requirements laid upon them. It must be remembered that the vast majority of the Russian people is untouched by the zeal and fervor which inspires the Communist to feats of energy and endurance surpassing normal human endeavor. The latest official statistics of the Communist party, published in January, place the total membership at 1,551,000. Of this number, 65 per cent are wage earners; the peasants supply 20 per cent of the membership; government officials, craftsmen and the unemployed account for the remaining 15 per cent. There are 212,000 women in the party. Perhaps one should add the 2,000,000 members of the Communist Youth, despite their immaturity, since they contribute an average of 40,000 to the party membership each year. Even so, this brings the total to but three and a half millions, or about 2½ per cent of the population.

Political dictatorship can be maintained by such a small minority because of the many favoring circumstances: possession of the armed forces

of the country; monopoly over all organs of information and propaganda; the illegality of any opposition party; and especially the political apathy of the great mass of the people. But for the political Dictator to alter the immemorable customs and the behavior patterns of the people, to create in them capabilities which they do not now possess, to arouse the will to sacrifice in the service of a cause which is not of their own devising, is a much more difficult matter.

Consider the industrial phases of the five-year program. According to their own count, the Communists number less than a million among the wage earners. The schedules of production laid out by the plan call for a rapid expansion of the total number of men engaged in industry, a steady increase in their efficiency, and a sudden acquirement by them of skill in types of manufacture which have never been known in Russia. The newcomers to industrial life must be drawn from the peasantry, not only unskilled in the tasks to which they are put, but in an ever-increasing proportion indifferent to the ideals which inspire the vast undertaking. The success of the whole program hinges upon the ability of the Communist leaders to supply the requisite human material. Hence, as an essential feature of their domestic policy, the Communists must put forth extraordinary efforts to change the nature of the Russian people.

Of fundamental importance is the general intelligence and versatility of the population. Before the revolution not more than 24 per cent of the people could read and write, and the ingrained superstition and traditionalism of the illiterate majority placed them still further beyond the reach of new ideas and ways of life. Great progress has been made during the intervening eleven

years. Today 54 per cent of the people are literate. Newspaper circulation has increased threefold, and last year the Soviet Union claimed the distinction of publishing the longest list of book titles of any country in the world. But according to their own figures 30 per cent of the population between the ages of 16 and 35 are still illiterate and other millions are insufficiently educated to be used effectively in the five-year program. Every available agency is being used to surmount this obstacle. Adult education is promoted through the army, the workshop, the village, the clubroom. During the current year it is expected that 7,500,000 adults will be taught to read and write, and that by 1933 there will be no illiterates of adult age. Childhood education is pressed with equal vigor. Last year almost 90 per cent of the children of school age were attending school, as compared to 47 per cent in 1915. By 1933 the government expects to have instituted compulsory elementary education throughout the entire country.

But these achievements, though very creditable, do not really meet the issue, which takes the form of an immediate and unprecedented demand for trained industrial workers. As a slow but eventual adjustment of the problem the Soviet Government is introducing an element of vocational training into the general educational system, even at its lowest levels, to acquaint the children with the processes of production. To supply the immediate need a vast number of trade and extension schools have been organized. Every factory has its trade school and every considerable rural centre its "School of Peasant Youth." The young people attend these schools, dividing their time between classroom and workshop or farm. Older unskilled adults are likewise encouraged to increase their training through these agencies, their working day being reduced without loss of pay to make this possible. There can be no doubt that this program will eventually raise the average skill of the laborers and redistribute the working population among the various vocational groups;

but haste is of the essence in an economic revolution which has less than four years to run.

Heroic measures are adopted to increase the efficiency, which is tantamount to increasing the numbers of the workers now in the factories. Reference has been made in earlier numbers of this review to the tightening of labor discipline; the increase of managerial authority and the nullification of the powers of labor unions have gone further than in the most conservative of capitalistic countries. The latest device is the "unbroken work week," which involves a destruction of all feast days, including Sunday, save for the five revolutionary holidays. The most favored plan introduces a "stagger" system, which gives each shift of workers a seven-hour day and a rest period every sixth day, but keeps the factories in continuous operation 360 days a year.

But there remains the critical problem of providing the engineers, technicians and other specialists who are the pivot of the entire system. The revised five-year schedules call for 175,000 of these specialists in addition to those already at work. The Soviet authorities recognize this as their most serious problem of personnel, acknowledging that the dearth of competent technicians is already acute. A single illustration will show the vital nature of the problem. The five-year program calls for the creation of an entirely new watch-making industry. Last year the Soviet Union bought the entire plant and equipment of two American watch factories and removed them to Moscow. But they were little better off than before, since Russia could supply no technicians competent to make an actually functioning enterprise out of the inert mechanical equipment. Proposals to European and American concerns that they take over the task of organizing and operating the Russian industry proving unsuccessful, the Union is now negotiating with a prominent American company for the training of Russian technicians in this country. Meanwhile, the industry marks time.

That this is not a unique situation is freely admitted by the official Russian journals. Every effort is being made to solve the problem. A small army of Russians is receiving technical training in the industries of foreign countries, especially in Germany and the United States. Technical colleges are multiplying in Russia, the five-year scheme calling for the creation of thirteen new colleges of this character, twenty-seven technical schools in connection with existing universities, and seven new departments in others. Eighty million dollars will be spent for this purpose during the present year. But here, too, the need is urgent, while the means are time-consuming.

It is probably this human factor which accounts for the disappointing results of the first quarter of the second year of the five-year program. There has been a marked change in the tone of the Russian press during the past month. The buoyant optimism of last Fall has given way to alarm and indignation as the published figures show that the industrial program has fallen behind the schedules. It is impossible until Spring to measure results in agriculture. Current accounts indicate that the new socialistic forms of agrarian organization are spreading with unexpected rapidity; but the result in terms of grain production remains still unknown. All agree that the permanence of the collective organization depends on the forthcoming crop, and so there is much anxiety in the rural districts. But with regard to industry there is no room for doubt. The figures for the first three months of the fiscal year, ended Jan. 1, showed that the factories and mines had failed to increase output and reduce costs in accordance with specifications, and the month of January showed little improvement.

The press characterizes the situation as "threatening, unsatisfactory, dangerous and shameful," and calls for immediate and drastic measures. To the foreign student of Russian affairs, to be sure, the record does not seem so very discouraging. Until the end of

January, production generally held the very substantial gains made last year, and failed only to show the increases demanded by this year's program; but even such partial failure strikes at the heart of the vast enterprise to which Russia is dedicating all her energies. The Kremlin has responded by attempts to stimulate the general mass of labor to new heights of enthusiasm by organizing labor "shock troops" and increasing the competition of factories. However, there are psychological limits to such devices for increasing the tension in the life of the ordinary man who is not a subscriber to the faith which inspires his leaders, especially among a people accustomed to the passive, easy-going Oriental ideal of life.

In foreign affairs, the record of the past month has not improved the standing of the Soviet Union. In three important countries the embarrassing propagandist activities of the Third International have caused trouble for the diplomatic agents of the Union. In January Mexico recalled her Ambassador from Moscow because of the anti-Mexico demonstrations of Communists in Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires, which were inspired by the revolutionary propaganda of the Comintern in South America. The discovery of a well-organized conspiracy in the German Army and the epidemic of Communist riots have aroused indignant feeling against Russia in Germany. In France, too, a similar conspiracy has been uncovered, and this, coupled with the daylight kidnapping of General Kutieпов, White Russian military leader, on the streets of Paris, has evoked great resentment. A demand, based upon this outrage, for a severance of diplomatic relations with Russia has been made in the French Chamber of Deputies. In Germany, too, the Conservatives have seized the opportunity to present a similar demand. Mexico, having taken the first step which usually leads to open rupture, has allowed the matter to rest, and the Russian envoy in Mexico City has not been dismissed.

THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

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THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY into the Palestine riots of last August left Jerusalem on Dec. 29 and arrived in London on Jan. 4.

A decision was rendered at Jerusalem on Jan. 23 to the effect that twelve Arabs who were charged with the murder of seven persons at Motsa, five miles from Jerusalem, on Aug. 24, were not guilty. The acquittal was on the ground that guilt had not been proved beyond a reasonable doubt. Crowds of Arab spectators rejoiced loudly, while the Jewish population became indignant, regarding the decision as a miscarriage of justice.

Two days later a new trial was ordered on appeal in the case of a Jew who had been convicted and sentenced to death for murdering two Arabs at Jaffa on Jan. 25. If anything more than the normal processes of justice can be discerned in these decisions, it might be inferred that the British authorities are anxious to avoid the obloquy, hatred and exaltation of martyrdom, which is apt to follow any execution under such excited conditions as now prevail in Palestine.

The Council of the League of Nations has decided to appoint an international Wailing Wall Commission which shall determine the respective rights of the Jews and Arabs at the Wailing Wall. The members are to be appointed by Great Britain with the consent of the Council. Some influential Arabs are urging Moslems to boycott this commission, calling it an "Anglo-Saxonist plot."

Palestinian Arabs are preparing to send delegations to Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of presenting the political demands of the Arabs and collecting contributions.

It is reported upon reliable authority

that the events of the last six months in Palestine have to a large extent alienated the sympathies of foreigners in the Near East from the Jews and turned them toward the Arabs. Sentiment seems to move toward favoring the rapid setting-up of self-governing institutions in Palestine, giving the Arabs their overwhelming proportion of representation. The Jews would be obliged to become reconciled to the abandonment of political Zionism and the establishment of the concept of the Jewish national home as cultural and educational. The rôle of the mandatory power would gradually be reduced to that of guarantor of the political rights of the Arabs and the cultural and residential rights of the Jews.

Building operations in Palestine have fallen off progressively since 1925. The total expenditure as announced for 1925 was about \$10,000,000; for 1926, \$5,700,000; for 1927, \$3,850,000, and for 1928, \$3,500,000. This decline runs parallel with the course of trade in general during those years.

SYRIA—Talk has revived recently in favor of setting up a king in Syria. In another phase of the shifting attitude of the Arabs toward Great Britain and France, with a new development of ill-feeling toward Great Britain on account of recent events in Palestine, a relatively friendly feeling has appeared toward France. Sherif Ali Haidar Pasha is again discussed as a possible king for Syria. The Sherif has been living in Beirut for several years. He has had slight administrative experience and would in all probability act as a figurehead.

The French Government has appropriated \$6,000,000 for the improvement of the harbor at Beirut. It is hoped thus

to parallel the improvements which are now being made at the harbor of Haifa.

TURKEY—M. Karakhan, Assistant Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, visited Ankara (this is the approved Turkish spelling of the city long known as Angora) and on Dec. 17 a new treaty was signed between Turkey and the Soviet Union, amplifying the pact of 1925.

The Turkish Government is reported to be ready to join the League of Nations if given assurances of a semi-permanent seat on the Council. While this is a large demand for a relatively small and weak country, it appears to be receiving serious consideration, especially because of the reflection that thus Turkey might be drawn away from Russian influence.

In the Turkish budget for 1930, which amounts to 222,334,330 Turkish pounds, about 25 per cent is to be used for education, public health and social service. A like proportion will be devoted to national defense; 15 per cent is to be used for public works and 14 per cent will be used for the service of the debt.

President Mustapha Kemal is reported to have begun writing a general history of Turkey.

Turkish publishers and authors requested the government to subscribe to 500 copies of every book printed in the new alphabet, claiming that the public demand is not yet sufficient to justify publication. A government official replied: "What you need is not a government subscription but a lesson in how to advertise and distribute your books."

The government "pegged" the value of the Turkish lira at 1,025 piasters to the pound sterling, which gives the value of 47½ cents to the Turkish lira.

Strict regulations have been established in Constantinople for the supervision and control of saloons.

EGYPT—The new Egyptian Cabinet, as established at the beginning of the year, contains the following members:

MUSTAPHA PASHA NAHAS—Prime Minister and Interior.

WASSEF PASHA GHALI—Foreign Affairs.
HASSAN PASHA HASSIL—War.
NEGUIB PASHA GHARABLI—Justice.
MOHAMMED PASHA SAFWAT—Agriculture.
OSMAN PASHA MOHARRAM—Public Works.
MAHMUD BEY BASSIUNI—Finance.
MAKRAM EFFENDI EBEID—Wakfs.
BAHA-ED-DIN-BEY BARAKAT—Education.
MAHMUD FAHMY EFFENDI NEKRASHI—Communications.

From various sources the program proposed by the new Cabinet is known to include, first of all, a plan for strengthening the Constitution, with a view to preventing such periods of unconstitutional rule, as took place during the last eighteen months. It is proposed next to take up schemes of economic and social development, and then to work out the establishment of complete independence. This would naturally lead to the establishment of proper treaty relations with Great Britain.

The new tariff aimed at two things, namely, protection and revenue. Duties were reduced on raw materials, machinery and coal, and export duties were abolished on cotton, cottonseed, eggs and hides. In the new tariff schedule nearly half the 867 items refer to ad valorem duties, mostly at 15 per cent.

Egypt is said to possess 25,000 automobiles, whereas five neighboring regions possess 25,600 all told. Syria has 7,000, Palestine 3,000, Persia 7,000, Iraq 2,000 and Cyprus 6,600.

ARABIA—King Ibn Saud issued an official announcement at the end of November explaining his plans for defeating the rebels in Eastern Arabia. At the outset it was apprehended that they would escape into the territory of Koweit. When convinced that the extent of the King's preparations rendered their defeat inevitable, they offered to submit on condition of pardon. The King refused the offer as made and proposed that they should surrender and submit to trial before religious courts. This they refused. On Nov. 15 the King protested to the British Government that the rebels were being permitted to obtain supplies from and take refuge in Koweit. Inasmuch as

Great Britain acts as protector of Kuwait, her government would seem to be responsible, according to the treaty of Jedda of 1927, which provides that both Great Britain and Arabia shall endeavor to prevent their territories from "being used as a base for unlawful activities directed against peace and tranquillity in the territories of the other party."

The government of Ibn Saud is proceeding rapidly in the establishment of permanent international relations. The British agency and consulate in the Hejaz was advanced to the rank of a legation, and the French consul was promoted to the position of *Chargé d'Affaires* at the end of December, and steps have been taken toward similar action on the part of the Italian, Russian, Turkish and Persian Governments.

On Jan. 8 the fourth anniversary of the King's accession to the throne of the Hejaz was celebrated in Mecca and Jedda. The King himself was absent on the eastern frontier but his son Amir Faisal represented him adequately.

While practically all Arabia is to be described as distinctly desert country, it has been the case from the most remote times that heavy rain falls occasionally in the neighborhood of the holy cities, Mecca and Medina. More than two inches of rain fell in one hour on Nov. 27, during a year which altogether yielded only five inches.

TRANS-JORDAN—A recent nationalist congress held at Amman passed resolutions expressing continued loyalty to Amir Abdullah, proposing to work toward complete independence of

the Arabs, demanding national local government in Trans-Jordan, supporting the Arab national oath to secure a federated Arab State, and protesting against the Balfour declaration and the treatment of the Arabs by the government of Palestine.

IRAQ—The new High Commissioner, Sir Francis Humphreys, flew from Cairo to Bagdad on Dec. 10.

It is estimated that about 3,000 passenger-carrying automobiles leave Bagdad each year, of which about one-fourth travel to Teheran and almost all the remainder to Syria. Between 8,000 and 10,000 passengers are carried. Most of the cars to Syria follow the route via Rutbah Wells. The Nairn Eastern Transport Service now uses cars which travel from Bagdad to Beirut ordinarily in twenty-six hours, a journey which in former times occupied a like number of days.

PERSIA—The development of aerial transportation in Persia through the Junkers company has been noteworthy. Lines were first opened in February, 1926. A year later regular service was established between Teheran and Baku, connecting with the railroad system and airlines in Russia. In April, 1928, service began between the capital and Bushire on the Persian Gulf. One year later regular communication was established with Bagdad. The number of travelers carried rose from 54 in 1927 to 351 in June, 1929. In the former year 10 per cent of the passengers were Persians and in the latter year 75 per cent.

THE FAR EAST

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THE JAPANESE DIET, the first to be elected under the electoral law providing for universal manhood suffrage, was dissolved by imperial rescript on Jan. 21. The present Minseito Government of Mr. Hamaguchi, finding itself hopelessly in the minority in the session which convened on Dec. 23, decided early in January to seek a remedy for the situation in an appeal to the country. The decision of the Cabinet leaders was taken despite the fact that the Seiyukai, the Opposition party, being most reluctant to fight an election at the present time, had apparently resolved not to take any action which might cause the government immediate embarrassment. It was expected that the implication of various Seiyukai leaders in the political scandals which had recently been unearthed would react to the disadvantage of their party during the campaign. The session of the Diet which was terminated by the writ of dissolution was noteworthy chiefly because for the first time in the constitutional history of Japan the leader of the government, Mr. Hamaguchi, and the leader of the Opposition, Mr. Inukai, were both commoners facing each other in the popular chamber. After the dissolution it was announced that the election of the new Diet would take place on Feb. 20.

It was realized in Japan that a general election held at the same time as the London conference might result in certain embarrassments to the Japanese delegates in London, particularly if the extreme nationalists gained a hearing during the campaign. On the other hand, the dissolution of the Diet

cut short the activities of certain big navy advocates who were seeking the introduction of a resolution which, by approving Japan's claim to a 70 per cent ratio in cruiser strength, might have made difficult any compromise which the Japanese representatives found it necessary to make in the interests of a general agreement.

Speaking to the Diet just before the dissolution, the Premier stressed three achievements of the Minseito during its short period in office—public expenditures have been reduced; there has been a pronounced improvement in Japan's foreign relations; and the embargo on the export of gold has been raised. The lifting of the ban on gold exports, which became effective on Jan. 11, was not to be made an issue in the campaign, according to statements made by Mr. Inukai, leader of the Seiyukai, who said that the injection of such an issue into the campaign might disturb still further the financial and industrial situation in the country, already somewhat unstable. The decline in commodity prices, which had been noticeable since the beginning of 1929, was particularly marked in November and December, when the index number of wholesale prices fell from 211 to 204. The close of the year showed a certain amount of unemployment, caused by the closing of a number of factories.

The Minseito leaders are apparently persuaded of the necessity for reducing the general level of Japanese prices as a means of stimulating the export trade. To that end, encouragement is to be given to the rationalization of industry, carrying with it the elimination of unsound enterprises, increased effici-

ency and the use of better production methods. Extensive inducements are also to be offered to the tourist trade as a means of improving the country's balance of international obligations. Some suggestion has likewise been made of a lower tariff and of reduced railroad rates, both for freight and passenger traffic. Finally, it is proposed that certain industries, now intimately associated with the government, be returned to private management, the government merely retaining non-dividend paying stock. The Seiyukai leaders are disposed to find a remedy for the prevailing industrial depression by improving the purchasing power of the people. For this purpose they advocate continued assistance to domestic industry, with tariff revision as one of the means suggested, and an intensive campaign to stimulate the use of Japan-made goods. The Opposition charges that the thoroughgoing retrenchment policy of the present government has served only to accentuate the existing economic depression.

Before the dissolution Baron Shidehara, the Foreign Minister, addressed the Diet in a speech, in which, after referring to the London Conference on Naval Limitation, he said that while Japan had no serious unsettled difficulties either with Europe or the United States the American Immigration Act of 1924 could not yet be regarded as a closed incident. A satisfactory settlement of this problem, however, could be expected to flow naturally from the recent improvement in the friendly understanding of the American and Japanese peoples. Touching briefly on the application of the Kellogg-Briand pact to the Sino-Russian dispute in Manchuria, the Foreign Minister declared: "We ourselves would be unable to remain a silent spectator if this treaty, on which the ink is scarcely dry, were in fact to be reduced to a dead letter." With reference to China, he said, Japan's interest there centres primarily in her trade. Peace is necessary for the development of this trade. Likewise anti-foreign agitation and boycotts have an injurious effect on it. After

expressing sympathy with China's nationalist aspirations, Baron Shidehara intimated that a revision of existing Sino-Japanese treaties could be arranged as soon as China was ready. The Chinese Government, on the other hand, must be prepared to safeguard the legitimate economic interests of foreigners in the country.

CHINA—The famine which continues to rage in Northwestern China has assumed proportions without parallel in the recent history of the country. In the provinces of Shensi and Shansi, where already 2,000,000 are said to have perished of starvation during the past year, it is estimated that an equal number are doomed to death from the same cause before June. Grover Clark, the former editor of the *Peking Leader*, who recently returned from an inspection of conditions in the Wei River district, has reported that he witnessed scenes more disheartening than any that have ever come under his observation during many years spent in the Orient. Thousands of people were frozen to death during the recent cold wave, when the temperature fell to 32 degrees below zero. Usually the people in Shensi Province, where the famine conditions are most acute, are accustomed to a minimum temperature of 15 degrees above zero.

Conditions in Kansu are even worse than those in the two neighboring provinces, according to the testimony of George Andrews, a missionary, on his arrival at Shanghai. To the distress caused by crop failure and the warfare between Chinese and Moslems in the province has been added the ravages from typhus. Mr. Andrews reported that the survivors in that part of the country are practising cannibalism.

Relief work, which has been carried on by the China International Famine Relief Commission, has been hampered by a complete breakdown in transport facilities and by the prevailing banditry. The bandits are the stronger peasants who range over the country in search of whatever food they can find. In Kansu, according to reports, the only transportation is by foot. In



CHINA AND ADJOINING PROVINCES

one instance, according to a Peiping dispatch, the animals which drew the relief carts into the famine area were killed and eaten and the carts themselves broken up for firewood. Mr. Clark said the local authorities are helpless, since they are themselves on the verge of starvation. General Yen Hsi-shan was making efforts to send supplies of millet into some of the distressed areas of Shansi.

So as to cope with the financial crisis resulting from the drop in the value of silver, T. V. Soong, Minister of Finance, announced that from Feb. 1 customs duties on imports would be collected on a gold basis, with a new gold unit equivalent to 40 cents United States currency replacing the haikwan (customs) tael. Since the payment of duties must continue to be made in existing currencies, announcement will be made from time to time of the official exchange rates. The conversion rate from

Feb. 1 to March 15 would approximate the average exchange rate during the last quarter of 1929. Where specific duties are now provided for, on the basis of the haikwan tael, the new duties will be payable in the ratio of 1 haikwan tael to 1.50 of the new gold units until March 16, when the ratio will be 1 to 1.75. The Finance Minister stated that the change was necessary to restore a normal relationship between the specific and ad valorem rates of duty, and to safeguard the government's gold commitments, which amount to \$45,000,000 annually. The decline in the value of silver, which forms the basis of Chinese currency, has created distress in the Shanghai market and elsewhere in the country. Reports from Peiping indicate the failure there of a number of Chinese banks. Dr. H. H. Kung, Minister of Industry, Commerce and Labor, intimated that the eventual, though not the immediate, solution of the problem

must be sought in the establishment of a gold standard.

Indications multiply that the Nanking Government is disinclined to accept the terms of the Khabarcvsk protocol signed on Dec. 22 between the representatives of China and Russia. On Jan. 10 Dr. Wang, Chinese Foreign Minister, announced that the minutes of the conference revealed that it had discussed questions not within its scope. A Tokio dispatch of a later date reported that the Nanking Government had notified Chang Hsueh-liang in Mukden of its refusal to accept certain vital portions of the agreement. The conference for the final settlement of the Chinese Eastern Railway dispute, which was scheduled to meet in Moscow on Jan. 25, was accordingly postponed, the Soviet representatives expressing their willingness to begin any day up to Feb. 22. Harbin dispatches suggest that the Soviet Government has urged the Mukden authorities to negotiate separately, thus ignoring the Nationalist Government at Nanking. Meanwhile train service has been restored on the Chinese Eastern Railway, and the Soviet Government's participation in the control over the railway has been entirely restored.

The rumor, previously mentioned, linking Yen Hsi-shan, Vice Commander-in-Chief of the Nationalist Armies, with the Reorganizationists who are seeking to overthrow Chiang Kai-shek, was apparently without foundation. After preserving a sphinx-like silence during the December insurrections, General Yen finally published his views in the form of a lengthy telegram, signed jointly by himself and Chang Hsueh-liang of Manchuria. The telegram pronounced strongly in favor of internal peace and against the radicals led by Wang Ching-wei and Generals Tang-Seng-chi and Chang Fa-kwei. While ad-

vocating support of the government as a means of maintaining peace, Yen and Chang, perhaps significantly, made no mention of Chiang Kai-shek, the present head of the Nanking Government.

What may develop into a test case of the decree of Dec. 22 regarding extraterritoriality has resulted from the arrest of a British naval officer at Hankow on Jan. 24, after his motor car had killed a Chinese coolie. After his arrest by the Chinese police the naval officer was detained in a local jail until the British Consul gave written assurance that he would appear for investigation before Chinese officials. The Chinese police declare that they were acting upon specific instructions from Nanking, saying that all foreigners under Chinese jurisdiction were to be tried in Chinese courts.

The Italian Government on Jan. 17 notified the Nationalist Government that it must refuse its consent to the abolition of extraterritorial rights now enjoyed by its nationals in China, since the Chinese Government has not yet secured the assent to that step of the powers' signatory to the Washington treaties, as required by the recently negotiated Sino-Italian treaty.

The Shanghai *Evening News*, the radical organ of Wang Ching-wei, recently deposed head of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee, has declared for an anti-German campaign in retaliation against the use of German military advisers in the Nationalist Armies of Chiang Kai-shek. A special dispatch to *The New York Times* intimates that the Left Wing elements are also irritated over the continued sale of American bombing planes to the Nanking Government, which they characterize as interference in China's domestic affairs and unneutral support of Chiang Kai-shek in his determination to dominate the country.

To and From Our Readers

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

To the Editor of Current History:

The articles on the League of Nations in January *CURRENT HISTORY* are timely indeed. There were other issues involved in the Presidential election of 1920, so that the American people has never decided that this country should not enter the League. Since the World War evidence has been produced that millions of men lost their lives in a war that was caused by the international bankers, the great industrialists, the manufacturers of machines of destruction, intriguing war lords and unscrupulous diplomats. Will this condition be permitted to continue in the affairs of men?

Apparently the opponents of the League are still endeavoring to deceive the American people, and misrepresent the League as being a supergovernment, designed as an international political organization for the purpose of advancing the selfish interests of the great powers, and holding in subjection the backward peoples of the world. But how can the League be called a supergovernment when a South American country can block its entire machinery, subordinating the interests of the world to her own national pride and aspirations? Is there a single case in which the League has assumed supergovernmental powers and infringed the sovereign rights of any nation? The history and experience of the League disprove that it is a supergovernment, and indicate that it needs more universal support and strength rather than less.

How can there be a League of Nations without an organization? How can there be an organization without there being specific obligations, which are for the benefit of all, mutually binding on all the members, and providing machinery to restrain any member that threatens the peace of mankind? How can we be true to our ideals as a nation, harmonize our actions with our preaching and not be a member of the League?

It was "politics" that prevented us from associating ourselves with other nations in the League. We know that the leaders of the Republican party, with a few Democrats, deceived the American people in 1920, and that the "landslide" for President Harding was not a rejection of the League by the voters of America. We know that the Republican leaders attacked certain articles of the peace treaty as being too drastic and burdensome on the German people in order to capture the votes of people of German descent in this country. We also know that many of the outstanding men of the Republican party, who for years had been advocating an as-

sociation of nations, refused to take a definite step and adhere to an international organization which had received the hearty approval and support of mankind. They realized the political advantages to the Democratic party if the Senate should ratify the peace treaty and the covenant of the League of Nations. The Republican leaders knew that if the Senate ratified the treaty, including the covenant and providing for our entering the League, that the Democratic party would remain in power for at least four more years. So, in order to prevent the Democrats from remaining in power, the Republican leaders deceived the American people, and made promises that have never been fulfilled.

Ten years have passed since the great debate in the Senate, but I desire to ask those who are opposed to this country entering the League a number of questions:

1. Where is the "Association of Nations," of which we would be a member, that the Republican leaders promised the American people in 1920?

2. As there are fifty-four nations represented in the League that are just as jealous of their national rights and sovereignty as we are, in which association the small nations have more rights and privileges than ever before, and have no fear that the great powers are going to infringe on their sovereignty, why should this country, the richest and most powerful nation in the world, hesitate or fear to associate herself with the other governments of the world in an international organization which is for the benefit of all?

3. As the Republican party declared itself in favor of adhering to the League in accordance with the "Lodge reservations," why has not this declaration been fulfilled since the Republican party has regained control of our national government?

4. Would the collapse of the League of Nations benefit the United States?

5. Would the collapse of the League of Nations benefit its member-nations?

6. What type of an international association would you propose, and how would you persuade other nations to abolish the present League that is working to join a new international association of which they have no guarantee that we would be a member?

7. Would we not have more influence in world affairs by being a member of the League, actively and officially cooperating with the other nations of the world as a member than by refusing to assume the obligations of the League covenant, and participate with other nations in the activities of the League?

8. Would it not be more appropriate for

us to become a member of the League, officially assume our obligations and responsibilities, use our influence to improve the organization, cooperate with other nations in concerted action for the maintenance of peace, give the League a fair trial, than to remain outside and condemn it?

9. Does a nation not relinquish a part of its sovereignty and assume specific obligations when it enters into a treaty with another nation?

10. What has the country really done to repay her debt to all those who made the supreme sacrifice in the World War, to the millions of wounded men and women in all lands, and what would be the condition of humanity if nations should fail to cooperate in an international concert?

PAUL A. HILL.

Herald Building, Jersey Shore, Pa.

* * *

THE FEDERAL FARM BOARD

To the Editor of Current History:

The avowed purpose of the Federal Farm Board appointed by President Hoover and now incorporated under the laws of Delaware is to, all in two different directions for the purpose of accomplishing one definite object; by orderly marketing to hold wheat off the markets, foreign and domestic, until domestic consumers of that commodity can be made to pay a higher price for it, and in some unexplained way, to maintain a remunerative price for wheat by discouraging or preventing the production of a troublesome surplus.

The whole scheme is based on the false economic theory that an artificial shortage of foodstuffs under the control of the government will have the same effect in raising prices as a natural shortage or crop failure would have.

To illustrate the proposed operation: There are but seven States in the Union that produce any appreciable amount of exportable wheat for either the foreign markets or interstate commerce, viz.: North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Montana, Idaho and Washington. Those States produce approximately 60 per cent of all wheat in this country, and having comparatively small populations supply large surpluses of wheat for foreign export and interstate commerce.

For instance, North Dakota in 1927 produced 124,970,000 bushels of wheat; her requirement for domestic consumption was 3,205,000 bushels, leaving 121,763,000 bushels for export. On the other hand, New York produced but 6,291,000 bushels of wheat and on the basis of the average consumption per capita for the United States, required 49,450,000 bushels; 43,159,000 bushels therefore had to be secured by foreign importation or through interstate commerce. These figures, with necessary variations of course, apply to most of the States east of the Mississippi River.

If, under the operation of the Federal

Farm Board, the wheat producer receives 25 cents per bushel more for his wheat it is evident that the consumer will be required, other things being equal, to pay this advanced price. Under such conditions New York would pay to the wheat producing States an indirect bonus or subsidy of not less than \$10,800,000 annually, which could be avoided by an increase in her domestic production.

Alexander Legge, chairman of the Federal Farm Board, now assures us that it is the prime object of his grain corporation to discourage any increase in the production of wheat until the exportable surplus is reduced to zero. But why discourage the production of wheat in the thirty-five States that produce a shortage? Must these States continue to pay freight and enforced tribute on wheat from distant States when such foodstuff might be profitably produced in close proximity to their domestic markets? It must be obvious that to raise the price of wheat in those States to the figure necessary to make production profitable it is only necessary to discourage or inhibit the production of a surplus in the seven surplus-producing States.

J. W. LOCKHART.

St. John, Wash.

* * *

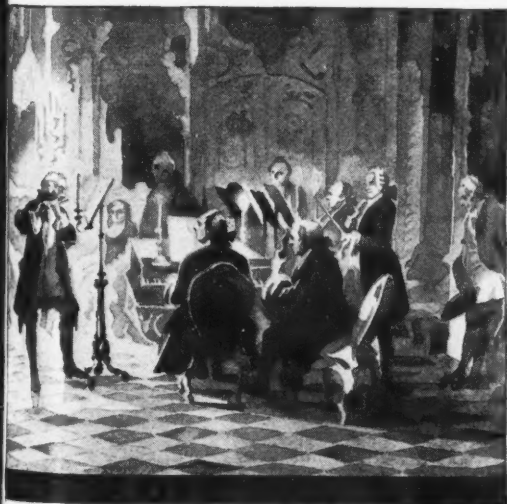
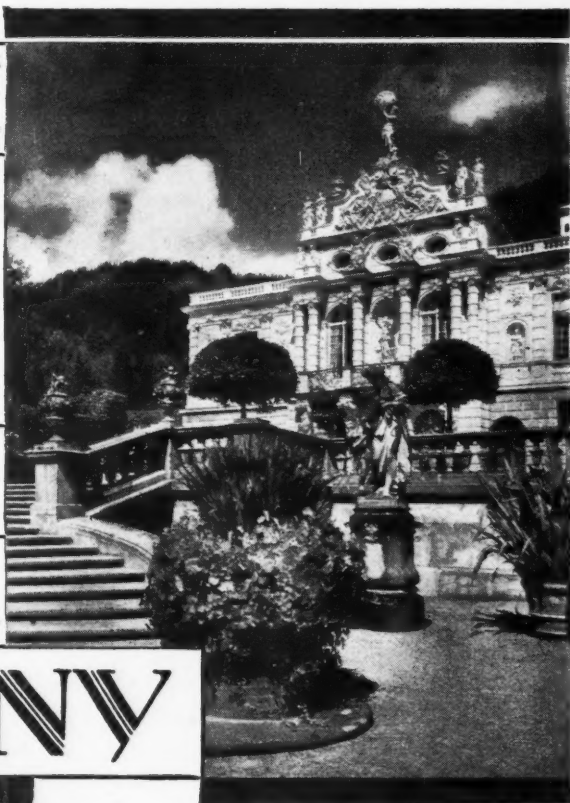
BULGARIA SINCE THE WAR

To the Editor of Current History:

Carlyle S. Baer, who has been a legal adviser to the Bulgarian Legation in Washington, in a letter in February CURRENT HISTORY, accusing me of making "misstatements of facts," denies that there is a Dictatorship in Bulgaria. He points to the existence of a Parliament and expresses astonishment at the fact that the Dictatorship permits forty-eight Deputies of Stambulisky's party to be in that body. But it is only a phantom Parliament which serves merely to deceive the outside world and, by veiling the military Dictatorship, perform its task of registering the decisions of a handful of officers at the Ministry of War. Though followers of Stambulisky are allowed seats in the "Parliament," as soon as any one of them has criticized the Dictatorship, Tsankoff or one of his lieutenants has shouted "traitor," and the man so branded has been killed in the street by an "unknown person." Such was the fate of Dr. Petkoff and Dr. Kossovsky, both of them lawyers, M. Popoff and several others.

In 1915 all the Bulgarian Opposition parties, and even a section of Premier Radoslavoff's party, were against the entry of Bulgaria into the war on the side of Germany. All the Opposition chiefs—Stambulisky, Malinoff, Gueshoff, Danoff and Tsanoff—who were present at the Palace audience on Sept. 17, 1915, unanimously expressed their opinion against siding with Germany; but as soon as King Ferdinand ordered a general mobilization, proclaimed an "armed neutrality" and threw

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Stambulisky into prison, all the other political chiefs changed their minds, and several of them even became as pro-German as Ferdinand himself. Had their opposition been as vigorous as Stambulisky's, Ferdinand would have abdicated in 1915 instead of in 1918, Bulgaria would not have ridden the wrong horse and America would not have had to enter the war at all.

If Stambulisky had desired to destroy his political rivals, as Mr. Baer alleges, he could have had them shot. Even when, in speeches in Parliament and in signed articles in their newspapers, they openly advocated his assassination and the overthrow of his government by armed force, Stambulisky was reluctant to bring them to justice. When they actually began an armed revolt, they were imprisoned and indicted by a popular referendum. There is public documentary evidence to show that after the reparation settlement and after the general election in April, 1923, Stambulisky's Cabinet decided to pardon and set free all the ex-Ministers.

There is no such thing as "official statistics" to prove that the operation of the labor law under Stambulisky resulted in "a rising deficit." On the contrary, the "Studies and Reports" of the International Labor Office shows that the labor law was successful, a statement which is further borne out by the fact that it is the only one of Stambulisky's laws which has not yet been repealed or changed since the *coup d'etat*.

As to reparations, Stambulisky personally opened negotiations with the allied commission. Against the total sum of 2,250,000,000 gold francs, which under Article 121 of the Treaty of Neuilly was to be paid with interest at 5 per cent in the course of 37 years, he took advantage of the provisions of Articles 136, 142 and 145 of the treaty and filed a counter-claim for 3,857,548,624 gold francs. Finally, a settlement was reached whereby the total sum of 2,250,000,000 gold francs was divided into two parts. The first part, 550,000,000 gold francs with interest at 5 per cent, was to be paid in the course of sixty years, Bulgaria reserving the right to ask for further reduction or delay of payments; the second part, 1,700,000,000 gold francs, was to be canceled by Bulgaria's counter-claim after the expiration of thirty years. This settlement won universal praise for Stambulisky and, I believe, served as an example for the Dawes plan. Were Stambulisky alive and still Premier, Bulgaria would henceforth have to pay no reparations at all.

The budget system of Bulgaria's military Dictatorship is designed to deceive foreign observers. A "regular budget" is made to show a balance or even a surplus, while at different times "supplementary credits"

are voted as expenditures to be covered by the surplus revenues of the regular budget. Through this "highly scientific method" the regular budget closes with a balance or surplus, but the supplementary credits remain entirely or partly huge veiled deficits. Every year since 1911, except perhaps 1922, Bulgaria's budget has closed with a deficit, covered by "floating loans." It should be remembered that Premier Stambulisky was able to float an internal loan of 300,000,000 leva at 6½ per cent interest and at par, that he left a budget of 4,000,000,000 and the exchange value of Bulgarian currency at 70 leva to the dollar; while his successors have caused the currency to drop to 140 leva to the dollar, have raised the budget to 8,000,000,000 and floated an international "stabilization loan" of \$25,000,000 at 7½ per cent interest and below par. Stambulisky's successors themselves recognize that Bulgaria's finances are approaching bankruptcy.

As to Mr. Baer's astonishing vilification of Stambulisky, what has made him cease to be the admirer of Stambulisky he was about seven years ago? At the time of the *coup d'etat* Mr. Baer severely censured the cold-blooded murder of Stambulisky and also advised Minister Panaretto to write a highly favorable obituary of the late Premier for the leading American dailies (see *The New York Times*, June 22, 1923, 16-7) and for the proper American high official.

THEODORE GESHKOFF.

(Formerly Third Secretary of the Bulgarian Legation in Washington, D. C.)
New York City.

* * *

CURRENT HISTORY PRESENTS BOTH SIDES

To the Editor of Current History:

In the November CURRENT HISTORY two articles, "The Disunited States of Europe" and "The Potsdam Conference" seem to conflict with one another as to what did cause the World War. The article by Dr. Hart goes into detail to enlighten every one on what was the immediate cause and is the opposite of what Professor Turner gives it. Was I foolish for reading both, as now I doubt both of them?

TOM C. BUCKHALTER.

Vinita, Okla.

* * *

THE EX-KAISER'S TITLES

To the Editor of Current History:

I see in CURRENT HISTORY a letter from the ex-Kaiser denying that the famous council on July 5, 1914, ever existed and signing himself "William, I. R."

As he is neither Emperor nor King he has no right to those titles.

Dr. W. W. KEEN.

Philadelphia.

World Finance—A Month's Survey

By **BERNHARD OSTROLENK**

EDITORIAL BOARD, *The Analyst*; FORMERLY LECTURER ON FINANCE,
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

WIDESPREAD financial interest has been aroused in the United States by recent sharp declines in prices of wheat and cotton, and has drawn attention to the general sagging of prices in all agricultural commodities in spite of the much-heralded activities of the Farm Board. Live-stock prices are at low levels, while potatoes, dairy and poultry products are below the average of the last five-year period. Wheat prices declined to \$1.12 a bushel on Jan. 31, the lowest of the season, and 29 cents lower than on the same day last year. Cotton is \$23 a bale lower than last year.

Special interest centres on prices of wheat and cotton, not only because of their importance to large sections of the farm population and the bearing

these prices have on the purchasing power of important farm sections, but also because it is in these commodities that the Farm Board, now in existence eight months, has been most active. A \$20,000,000 Farmers' National Grain Corporation and a \$30,000,000 American Cotton Cooperative Association have been organized to stabilize the prices of these commodities. The process of developing cooperatives, subsidiary to these central organizations, has received special attention from the Farm Board and has been aided by the far-flung agencies of the United States Department of Agriculture, through agricultural colleges, extension services and county agents. Commodity loans have been made to these cooperatives for crop-withholding purposes, and in

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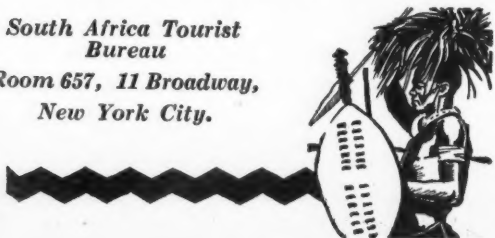
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both wheat and cotton these loans are well above present prices. Loan values for wheat were about \$1.20 a bushel, with present prices around \$1.12, and loan values on cotton are from 15.34 to 16.59 cents a pound, with present prices at 15 cents a pound.

While the \$500,000,000 allotted to the Farm Board has now been partly frozen in loans on commodities whose value has depreciated, and though these loans have as yet been ineffectual to maintain prices, the organization of cooperatives has not been smooth sailing. There is an immense inertia that keeps farmers from joining the cooperatives; the cooperatives themselves frequently do not find it to their particular local interest to be integrated in the larger groups; and, finally, large sections of business men, partly in opposition in principle to government operation of such a large commercial enterprise as moving agricultural produce, and partly because the new systems threaten to wipe out established business organizations and property devoted to marketing grain and cotton, are protesting and beginning to use every means at their disposal to retard the organization work.

Finally, the agencies of the Farm Board feel the drag of immense surplus production. Foreign demand for wheat and cotton has been falling annually. The decline in foreign takings of American wheat has been especially sharp during the last two years. Australia, Canada and Argentine are increasingly replacing the United States as sources of grain for Europe. Cotton is being grown in other parts of the world, and recent declines in silver have eliminated China as an important customer of cotton goods. In consequence, the surplus and carry-over of these commodities have been mounting. The carry-over of wheat in July, 1929, at 250,000,000 bushels, was the largest in history and more than 2.5 times the normal carry-over. In spite of the fact that 1929 was a year of crop failure so far as wheat was concerned, the harvest being 100,000,000 bushels less than the preceding year, the carry-over in 1930 at the present rate of export

promises to be even larger than last year by 50,000,000 bushels.

What further action the Farm Board purpose to take to stabilize agricultural prices under these conditions is now problematical. Repeated statements are now being issued by the Farm Board and the Department of Agriculture, urging farmers to reduce their 1930 wheat and cotton acreage. However well-meaning this advice may be, it is unaccompanied by specifications of what the farmer is to grow on his available land and with his available equipment. His choice at best is limited by climate, soil and equipment. The farmer cannot afford to leave his land idle, because his land and equipment cost him rent, interest and depreciation. Attempts at crop reduction programs have been tried in the past, but because of these inherent difficulties have never succeeded.

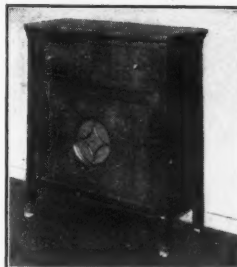
FRANCE

Gold continues to flow to France, as is shown by the increase of 860,000,000 francs during December and another 1,922,000,000 francs during January. Gold holdings of the Bank of France stood at 41,668,000,000 francs on Dec. 28, compared with 40,808,000,000 francs on Nov. 30, but by Jan. 30 it had increased again to 42,830,000,000 francs, the largest gold holding in the history of France.

Paris is seeking to become one of the chief money markets of the Continent and for that reason has been attempting to draw gold from all parts of the world. However, one of the requisites for a world money market is the free flow of gold. Financial interests are beginning to appreciate the situation and in consequence two important announcements have come from Paris. First, the French Minister of Finance has stated that "he is much concerned with the necessity of providing the Paris financial market with an organization that will enable it to play a leading rôle in the distribution of credit." Accordingly it has been decided to establish a new acceptance bank with a capital of 100,000,000 francs, which will be subscribed by the French banks. The new bank will "accept" bills, will

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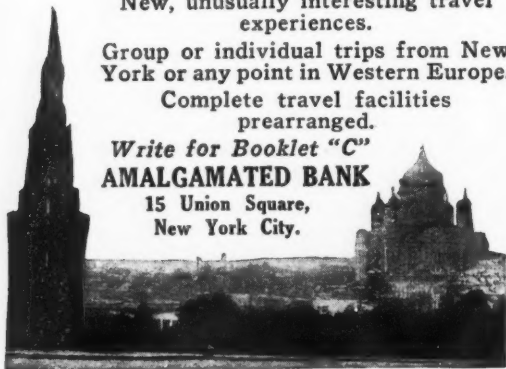
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serve as a clearing house for acceptances of associated banks and will have rediscount privileges from the Bank of France. The other announcement is that in furtherance of greater mobility of credit the Bank of France will henceforth lend money for seven days against approved bills at 3½ per cent, provided that if they be not repaid in that time they shall be considered as having been rediscounted with the Bank of France at that date. Conditions under which bills were discounted hitherto made the Paris money market far from free; hence the change will give the discount rate of the bank far more real meaning. However, with the note circulation at 70,287,000,000, the highest ever recorded, the danger of currency inflation with the increasing gold imports is also becoming apparent; hence, on Jan. 30 the discount rate of 3½ per cent, which had been in effect since Jan. 19, 1928, was lowered to 3 per cent, the lowest discount rate of any central bank.

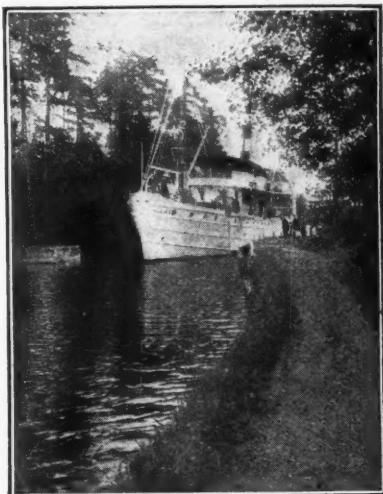
The voluminous flow of gold to France can not be explained exclusively by reparation payments. In a large part they are due to the extraordinary industrial recovery France has made since the war. During the war, when the industrial section of the North was invaded and while it remained in the hands of the enemy, it became necessary to expand and modernize the industrial equipment in the South. After the war, it became necessary to replace and renovate the northern factories damaged by the war. In consequence France's entire industrial machinery has been modernized and her index of production in June, 1929, reached 141 (1913=100), the highest point ever reached, with especial expansion in the iron, steel and textile industries. This industrial expansion was aided by the acquisition of Alsace Lorraine, which brought to France the richest iron ore beds in Europe, one of the greatest potash deposits, oil, coal, chemical factories and fertile farm lands. Moreover, the published figures of an adverse foreign trade balance, amounting to more than 7,000,000 francs, are offset by immense invisible exports in the form of tourist expenditures

amounting to over 8,000,000,000 francs in 1928. This portion of France's export trade has been systematically developed by the National Tourist Office.

Nor must the balanced national budget be overlooked as an element in helping to promote industrial development. The Poincaré Coalition Government must be credited with attaining, with amazing rapidity, four objectives which have contributed to widespread and sound prosperity in France: (1) The balancing of the budget; (2) the reduction of floating debt; (3) the restoration of capital resources; (4) the stabilization of currency. For many years before the Poincaré régime France's finances were based on visionary reparation payments that were to come from Germany. When these were not forthcoming and further expenses were entailed by an invasion of the Ruhr, in a futile attempt to squeeze from Germany what was economically impossible, France reached the climax of a financial crisis. It was at this point that the coalition government instituted the policies which led to such amazing success in so brief a time.

SPAIN

Resumption of the gold standard by Japan leaves Spain now the last of the most important countries with a depreciated currency. For the greater part of 1929 the peseta (par 19.30 cents) was quoted about 14.68 and, on Jan. 28, 1930, it dropped to 12.98 with some slight recovery during the next few days. The causes of this depreciation are interwoven with the historic policy of bi-



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metallism, an excess of imports over exports, flight of capital from Spain because of unstable political conditions and timidity of the frequently changing Ministries to deal adequately with the situation. The fall in value of the peseta is not due to lack of gold. Gold holdings of the Bank of Spain for November (the last available report) amounted to 2,565,000,000 pesetas, or about \$500,000,000, constituting one of the largest stocks of gold held by any bank. The amount has been increasing. In July, 1914, the Bank of Spain had a legal gold reserve of 543,000,000 pesetas; in 1921 it had 2,500,000,000 pesetas; in December, 1927, it had 2,601,000,000 pesetas, though by November, 1929, this amount had decreased about 36,000,000 pesetas. Nor is the fall due to any industrial depression. Foreign trade in 1929 was considerably more than that of 1928; the crops were excellent, especially the wheat crop, which will enable the country to reduce its unfavorable balance; and internal government revenues are well above expenses.

The present situation admirably illustrates the economic difficulties that accompany a bimetallic standard. Spain has never established a gold standard for its currency. In 1868 it adopted a monetary system providing for unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of 15½ to 1. When gold began to be coined several years later the value of gold had risen relatively to silver, and gold bullion became more valuable than the gold peseta. In consequence gold pesetas were rapidly melted and sold in bullion for a larger number of silver pesetas than they were worth in coin. Gold was driven out of circulation, and no gold has circulated in Spain for perhaps fifty years. The currency has consisted of silver coins, whose bullion is of less value than the coins, and of paper based on gold and silver reserves. Besides the gold reserves already mentioned, the Bank of Spain in its November statement also reported silver holdings totaling 711,000,000 pesetas, representing an increase of 13,000,000 pesetas from the preceding year.

The condition here outlined can only

be remedied by a complete reform of Spanish currency. Discussion leading to such action has not been lacking. In April, 1918, when the peseta, because of unusual foreign trade balances in consequence of the war, rose to 30.75 cents, the Minister of Finance proposed the introduction of a gold standard. Action, however, was deferred and finally abandoned. In 1928 the government appointed a commission to report on the conditions and methods under which the government might change to a gold standard. The commission made its report last May, but its conclusions and recommendations have not been made public. It was currently reported in the Spanish press that the commission had recommended bringing the peseta to par first, and then gradually changing to a gold standard. In June, the government issued a statement setting forth in detail its plan to support the exchange by purchases in foreign markets, and to follow a policy that would reduce imports and increase exports. A commission was appointed in September to carry out this program. In four months the commission purchased 350,000,000 pesetas, an amount so large that it forced the abandonment of the program on Oct. 11, with a consequent prompt fall in the peseta.

Efforts directed toward a more favorable balance of trade have not been any more successful. With the exception of the five years covering the war period, when exports exceeded imports by more than 2,000,000,000 pesetas, the visible balance of trade has been unfavorable to Spain. Imports exceeded exports by 548,000,000 pesetas in 1926, by 690,000,000 in 1927 and by 822,000,000 in 1928. The 1929 balance promises to be equally unfavorable. The excess of imports over exports has tended to exhaust foreign credit, creating a situation that is not easily remedied. Fundamentally it is due to the inflated Spanish currency, which in turn encourages imports but discourages exports. Any steps that will be taken to stabilize the peseta will also involve domestic deflation, a course that is proving politically hazardous in a country where the whole political structure is already precarious.



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